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CONTENTS

Copyright, 1910, by the Outlook Company

Defeat Direct Nominations 497
on Class Legislation.... 498
in Politics..... 500
..... 501
ands..... 501
..... 502
ecla-
..... 503
the Egyptians"..... 504
Egypt for Islâm"..... 505
The Chinese Parliament..... 505
Bishop McVickar..... 506
Governor Hughes, the Legislature, and Primary Reform..... 507
By Theodore Roosevelt
Congress and the Popular Will..... 508
The Children of the City..... 511
Roman Catholic Regeneration..... 512
The Spectator..... 513
The Public Service Companies and the People..... 515
By Lyman Beecher Stowe
The Spirit of Democracy: In the Family—The Hebrew Ideal..... 522
By Lyman Abbott
Napoleon Jones..... 526
By E. L. Pearson
A Beneficent Revolution..... 529
By Hester D. Jenkins
The New Books..... 534
Letters to The Outlook..... 537

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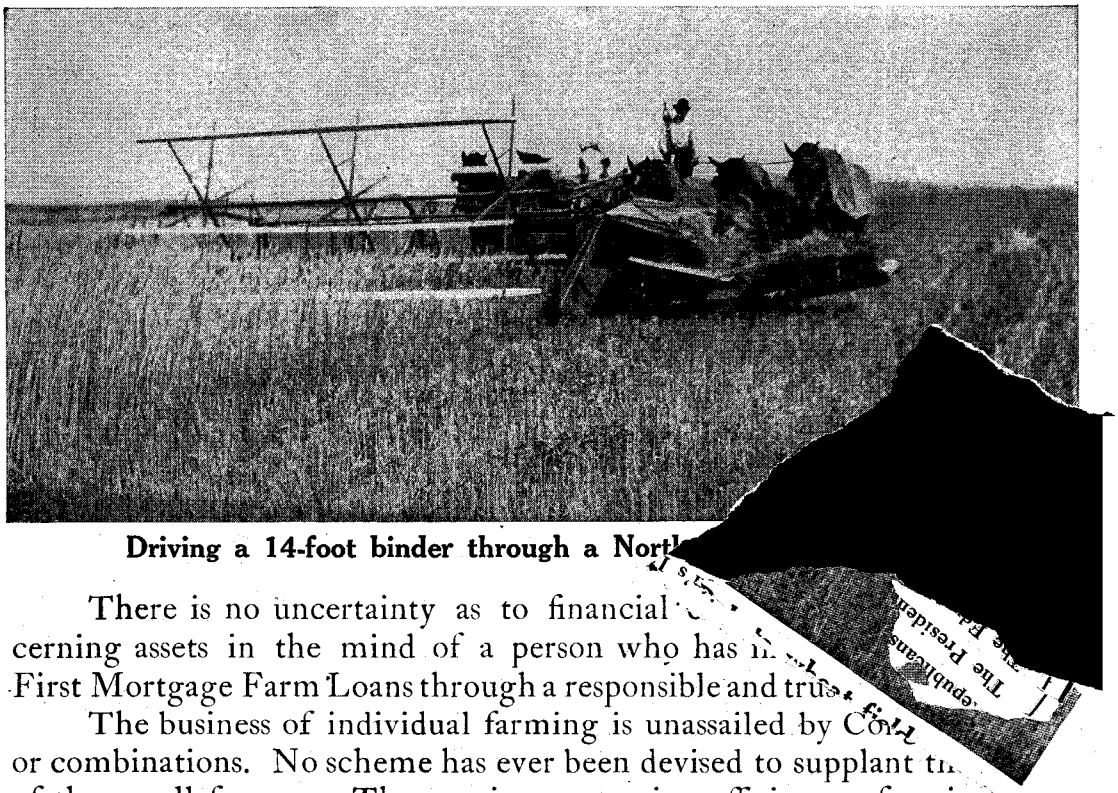

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The Outlook

JULY 9, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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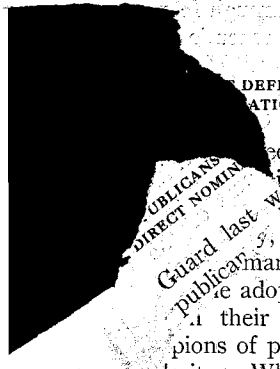
Contributing Editor



In the fight over the direct primary in New York State, the Old ...eek showed its hand. Re...lans, who, under the lead... ...osses like William Barnes, ..., Speaker Wadsworth, and ...publican man Woodruff, have fought ...e adoption of the direct primary, ...n their opposition posed as the ...pions of party organization and party ...ularity. When, however, the measure ...as under consideration at the special session of the Legislature last week, eleven Republican Senators, incited by their bosses, busy in the lobbies, refused to enter the party caucus. Later, in the Senate, they joined with the Democrats, under the astute leadership of the Democratic Senator Grady, in passing a resolution sent from the Assembly calling for hasty adjournment of the Legislature the next day. We believe in the right of any legislator to decline to enter a party caucus, but when a group of legislators keep out of a party caucus in the name of party regularity, they reveal how little party loyalty means to them, and how much personal interests. The action of these men makes clear, what no man could doubt before, that the opposition to the direct primary is based, not on a desire to serve the party interests, but on the wish to preserve the personal fortunes of the individual politician. In the Assembly the Republican organization treated the subject with equally scant courtesy. An adverse report from the Judiciary Committee on the Cobb bill was adopted by a vote of 80 to 63. The Legislature adjourned on Friday without further action. The willful deafness of the Legislature to the popular demand throughout the State for some measure of primary reform could not, however, prevent its hearing the words of a new and powerful ally for Governor Hughes and the direct primary forces. Mr. Roosevelt sent from Cambridge to Mr. Lloyd Griscom, Chairman of the Republican Committee of New York County, the following telegram:

> During the last week great numbers of Republicans and of independent voters from all over the State have written me urging the passage of direct primary legislation. I have seen Governor Hughes and have learned your views from your representative.
>
> It seems to me that the Cobb bill, with the amendments proposed by you, meets the needs of the situation. I believe the people demand it. I most earnestly hope that it will be enacted into law.
>
> THEODORE ROOSEVELT

In introducing Governor Hughes at the Harvard alumni luncheon, Mr. Roosevelt told how he came to send the telegram. He said:

> Our Governor has a very persuasive way with him. I had intended to keep absolutely clear from any kind of public or political question after coming home, and I could carry out my resolution all right until I met the Governor this morning, and he then explained to me that I had come back to live in New York now; that I had to help him out, and after a very brief conversation I put up my hands and agreed to help him.
>
> . . . I have sent to the local authorities in New York as emphatic an appeal as I know how to send, asking that the Legislature hold up the hands of our Governor and pass the legislation affecting our political structure which the Governor feels, which the best people throughout the State are growing more and more to feel, to be essential to our wholesome political life.

The majority in both houses of the Legislature have shown themselves no statesmen in declining to adopt the legislation

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demanded by the people of the State. They have shown themselves no party leaders in thus working against the majority as well as the chief leaders of the party.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY ISSUE

With every shift of the fight the issue becomes more clean cut. It is an issue between democratic and oligarchic methods of control within the party. It is an issue between those who would keep their own hands upon the reins of party management for their own good, and those who would enable the party voters to put the reins into the hands of those whom they choose for the party's good. In a letter to the Hon. George A. Green, of the New York Assembly, Dr. Lyman Abbott, the editor-in-chief of The Outlook, expressed last week his view of the question, as it presents itself now in New York State. He said:

The right of popular self-government involves the right of the voters, not merely to choose between candidates placed before them, but also the right to determine who those candidates shall be. In a government carried on by parties, this right involves the right of the members of a party to determine who the candidates of the party shall be. Under our present primary laws the voters of a party are denied that right.

It is because the Cobb direct nomination bill, now before the Legislature, provides a way at the same time of maintaining the responsibility of party organization under duly constituted party leadership and of giving to the members of the party the right to select party candidates that I regard the Cobb bill as a measure of fundamental importance.

The Republican party is now in control of the Legislature of New York. The people of the State will hold that party responsible for whatever happens to this measure. It is hardly necessary to say that all right-minded people will be inclined to place their confidence in the party only as it accepts and acknowledges its responsibility, and takes action as a party with regard to this bill.

Theodore Roosevelt, Charles E. Hughes, and, we believe, a majority of the people of New York State, want to take the control of parties from the hands of the bosses and deliver it into the hands of the voters. Those who for selfish reasons are opposing their efforts are sowing a wind from which will be reaped a whirlwind harvest of party disaster and personal defeat.

THE PRESIDENT ON CLASS LEGISLATION

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act provides that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal." The boycott is defined by *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* to be "A confederation, generally secret, of many persons, whose intent is to injure another by preventing any and all persons from doing business with him through fear of incurring the displeasure, persecution or vengeance of the conspirators." It ought to be necessary to carry the question up to the Supreme Court of the United States to have it decided that a confederation, if it is aimed to prevent persons from doing business with a special dealer by means of interstate commerce, is in restraint of trade, and therefore is forbidden by the Sherman Act. The question was, however, raised and carried to the Supreme Court, and it was by the Supreme Court determined that a boycott—that is, a confederation whose intent is to injure another by preventing any and all persons from doing business with him—is a combination in restraint of trade, and therefore is illegal. It was contended before the Supreme Court that the object of the statute was only to prevent combinations of capital, but the Court replied that while this was the origin of the legislation, "the subject had so broadened in the minds of the legislators that the source of the evil was not regarded as material, and the evil in its entirety is dealt with. They made the interdiction include combinations of labor as well as capital; in fact, all combinations in restraint of commerce, without reference to the character of the persons who entered into them." Several efforts have been made in Congress to exempt by legislation organizations of farmers and laborers from the operation of the Act, but they have all failed. It must therefore be assumed that the Act means what its words mean, and makes illegal a combination of workingmen to prevent the manufacturer of goods from selling his manufactured goods throughout the United States. What Congress had refused to do directly by amending the Act a Con-

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gressman, professing to act on behalf of labor unions, endeavored to accomplish by indirection, by attaching an amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill prohibiting the use of Federal funds in prosecuting combinations whose object is to increase wages, shorten hours, or better the condition of labor. President Carter, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, telegraphed to President Taft that reports indicated that the latter was opposed to this legislation, and, by instruction of the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood, President Carter protested against this unjust policy. The following paragraph from the President's [illegible]nd emphatic reply sufficiently indicates his position:

I am entirely opposed to such class legislation. If it was proposed to amend the language of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law itself so as somewhat to narrow its scope, that would present a proper question for consideration, but so long as the present Anti-Trust Law remains upon the statute-books an attempt to modify its enforcement so as to render immune any particular class of citizens, rich or poor, employers or employees, is improper legislation and in my judgment ought to be opposed by your Brotherhood. The laboring man and the trade unionist, if I understand him, asks only equality before the law. Class legislation and unequal privilege, though expressly in his favor, will in the end work no benefit to him or to society.

A WISE AND STRONG ACTION

We believe that this courageous and explicit and, as it proved, influential act of the President (for the proposed amendment was lost after his telegram was made public) will commend itself not only to the public generally, but specifically to workingmen. There may be reasons why the Sherman Anti-Trust Law should be repealed; there may be reasons why it should be amended so as to allow certain forms of combination that are in restraint of trade; it may be even argued that it should be so amended as to apply only to combinations of capital and not to combinations of labor, on the ground that combinations of capital are perilous and combinations of labor are not. Neither of these questions was the one involved in this case. The question in this case was this: When Congress has enacted a law making certain acts illegal, when the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that law to be Constitutional, when the attention of Congress has been called to the effect of that law, and it has refused to modify it so as to permit certain transactions which the law, as it stands upon the statute-book, prohibits as illegal, is Congress justified in withholding appropriations necessary to enforce the law? Or, to put it more briefly, is Congress justified in enacting a criminal law and then refusing to appropriate the money to prosecute the criminal? To this question there can be, we think, but one answer. The man who is "in favor of the prohibition law but ag'in' its enforcement" has long been the subject of scorn. For Congress to put itself deliberately on record as in favor of the law, after repeated opportunities to change its action, and then declare itself against the enforcement of the law, is absolutely indefensible. Such action can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that Congress is afraid, on the one hand, to change the law lest it shall lose the votes of capital, and, on the other hand, to enforce the law lest it shall lose the votes of labor. In declaring himself opposed to such class legislation, President Taft shows himself to be a far-sighted friend of workingmen, for there is no class in the community to whom class legislation is more perilous than to the working class. The remedy for the wrong is not in enacting more class legislation but in abolishing such class legislation as already exists. Whatever professional leaders of workingmen may say, we repeat our belief that workingmen will applaud this action of the President. Workingmen the world over —certainly English and American workingmen—have contempt for trimmers and admiration for men who have the courage of their convictions and state them unreservedly. John Stuart Mill, in his Life, tells the following experience:

In the pamphlet, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," I said, rather bluntly, that the working classes, though differing from those of some other countries in being ashamed of lying, are yet generally liars. This passage some opponent got printed in a placard, which was handed to me at a meeting chiefly composed of the working classes, and I was asked whether I had written and published it. I at once answered, "I did." Scarcely were these two words out of my mouth when

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vehement applause resounded through the whole meeting. It was evident that the working people were so accustomed to expect equivocation and evasion from those who sought their suffrages that when they found, instead of that, a direct avowal of what was likely to be disagreeable to them, instead of being affronted, they concluded at once that this was a person whom they could trust. A more striking instance never came under my notice of what, I believe, is the experience of those who best know the working classes, that the most essential of all recommendations to their favor is that of complete straightforwardness; its presence outweighs in their minds very strong objections, while no amount of other qualities will make amends for its apparent absence.

The Outlook believes that this is as characteristic of American as of English workingmen, and that Mr. Taft's courage of convictions and explicitness in declaring them will add to the esteem of workingmen for him.

THE EDUCATED MAN IN POLITICS

To an unusual degree the exercises at Harvard during this Commencement season emphasized the obligations of the educated man as a citizen. This was largely due to the fact that the two most conspicuous figures in Cambridge at the time were the two men whose public service has made them, with the President of the United States, the most conspicuous political figures in America—ex-President Roosevelt and Governor Hughes. Having just come from Europe, where he had been the honored guest of universities, Mr. Roosevelt was at Cambridge not a guest but a host. This was particularly true not only because he is an alumnus of Harvard, but because he is President of the Harvard Alumni Association. His address at Harvard was therefore not a public speech so much as it was a talk with his fellow-graduates. As a consequence of his visits to foreign universities he said that he had come back not only with an admiration for those universities, but also with the conviction that an American ought to win his spurs, ought to lay the foundation of his education, in America. He continued by saying that he was struck as he traveled abroad with the fact, on the one hand, that "the name 'America' stood as a golden symbol of hope for all who felt that they were downtrodden," and, on the other hand, that there was "everywhere a certain disheartened sense that we had not come up to our ideals, as there was ground for believing that we ought to have come," and that every instance of corruption, demagogic, hurtful use of wealth, and brutal materialism served not only to dim the ideal that America stood for, but also to supply an excuse for those who sneered at all ideals. He concluded by saying:

> Now, you Harvard men here, you men of America, if you won't see that your house is put in order for your own sakes, I suppose it would be useless to ask you to put it in order for the sake of other men; and yet I cannot imagine a more stirring appeal to be made to any people than this well-nigh [illegible] appeal from those who in other lands have not had the treatment to which they are in justice entitled, who appeal to us to manage our republic according to the highest standards of morality and decency, so that they can keep unshaken their faith in a realizable ideal.

Mr. Hughes, who received an honorary degree, addressed, according to the custom of all recipients of honorary degrees at Harvard, the assembled alumni. The next day he gave the annual address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which is the association of college men who have attained high rank in scholarship. Governor Hughes spoke frankly concerning the state of corruption in public life, and declared his belief that, though Americans had made large gains, they are "still on the wrong side of the line of safety." As a man of the highest ideals, of the strictest integrity, and of the keenest intellectual acumen, he has come into contact with the most sordid side of public life, and, as President Lowell said in his sententious characterization as he awarded him his degree, has proved himself a man "who, beset by foes, has fought for the right as God gave him to see the right." What such a man says regarding corruption that still survives in American life should be heeded. Alongside of corruption, though in a different category, Governor Hughes placed "the efforts to secure and hold improper privilege." These, he said, have "honeycombed administration and made our statutes to a large extent a patchwork of special favors." Governor Hughes urged that, to meet these evils, there is needed something more than a

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sentiment of brotherhood; there is need of intellectual power and foresight, yoked to pride in unselfish public service. It is his that the country has a right to expect rom the educated man.

COLLEGE ATHLETICS

With the Commencement season culmite the athletic feats of the college year. rnell, as has become almost customary, n the races on the Hudson at Poughpsie. This year, as last, it was a clean eep for Cornell, for in each of the three ces—'varsity eights, freshmen eights, and varsity fours—the Cornell crew was victorious. This is a notable achievement, especially because in each of these races Cornell had several opponents. At New York, Yale won from Harvard, after ragged but exciting play on both sides, the deciding baseball game of the series between the two colleges. More than abundant compensation, however, came to Harvard through the races on the Thames, at New London. There, on Thursday of last week, the Harvard 'varsity eight finished four lengths ahead of Yale, and the Harvard 'varsity four and the Harvard freshmen eight finished ahead of their Yale rivals. Thus, for the third year in succession, Harvard has won the boat races, and this year, as last, by a clean sweep. The day before these races, however, the Harvard freshmen four were beaten by the Yale freshmen four. Unhappily, the regatta on the Thames was marred by a bit of bad manners on the part of a Harvard crew. In recent years there has been arranged a sort of impromptu race between what have been called jocosely "gentlemen's eights." In a spirit of friendly rivalry, a crew of Harvard graduates has rowed against a crew of Yale graduates for a prize. These two crews are composed of former undergraduate oarsmen who have managed to keep up, after a fashion, their practice with the oars. This year, partly, it is said, because Commencement at Yale came earlier than usual and the graduates had therefore scattered, there was no gentlemen's eight to represent Yale. The Harvard crew thereupon acted like a lot of professionals whose livelihood depends upon their winnings. They rowed over the course alone and claimed the prize. There is no use in trying to make rules to provide a remedy for actions of this kind. If college men, and particularly college graduates, have not the breeding to prevent them from doing a thing of this sort, even in joke, they can hardly supply the deficiency by an athletic code duly drawn up and enacted. It will not be until such a proceeding as this is regarded as a more serious blot upon a college's athletic reputation than a string of defeats that there will be established a real basis for what is talked of as the reform of college athletics. It is perhaps not just to lay upon Harvard the blame for this particular piece of boorishness, for the crew that committed it was more or less irresponsible, and may very well have been gathered from among men who had imbibed little of the spirit of the university. Nevertheless, the public spirit of the college should be so strong that any action that indicates desire for the reward of contest without the contest itself should be impossible. We believe that a real amateur spirit is developing among American college athletes; but it is developing all too slowly. It ought long ago to have grown so dominant that no college man would think of caring a particle for the fruits of victory without a fair and even struggle.

THE SALE OF THE FRIARS' LANDS

One of the subjects which engaged the attention of the House of Representatives during the session just closed was the sale of certain lands in the Philippine Islands. These lands are a part of what are known as the friars' lands, which were purchased from certain religious orders after negotiations with the owners that were carried on by Mr. Taft, who was then at the head of the Philippine Government. Regarding this sale there may be said to be three questions: First, is it in accordance with law? Second, if it is in accordance with law, is it in accordance with wise administrative policy? Third, if it is in accordance with wise administrative policy, is this particular transaction justifiable? According to the organic law of the Philippine Islands which was passed by Congress in 1902, the property that was acquired by the United States through the treaty of peace

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with Spain was placed under control of the Government of the islands subject to the restrictions of the Act. The law then went on to prescribe conditions under which the public domain of the United States might be disposed of. Under those conditions no more than sixteen hectares (the hectare is equivalent to about two and a half acres) could be conveyed to any one person, and not more than one thousand and twenty-four hectares to any corporation. The sale, however, under consideration conveyed about fifty-five thousand acres to a Mr. E. L. Poole, who is understood to have acted as an agent of American sugar interests. Before the sale was completed an opinion was elicited from the Solicitor-General of the United States to the effect that there was no provision of law limiting the area of the friars' lands which may be sold to an individual. An opinion was also obtained from the Attorney-General to the same effect, namely, that the restrictions did not apply to those lands that were purchased from the religious orders. A cursory examination of the organic Act at first gives the impression that these friars' lands were subject to such restrictions; for in Section 65 of that Act it says that all lands acquired by purchase from religious orders shall constitute "a part and portion of the public property of the Government of the Philippine Islands, and may be sold by said Government on terms subject to the limitations and conditions provided for in this Act." A more careful examination, however, reveals an apparent distinction. The lands at first referred to, acquired from Spain, are said to be of the public domain of the *United States*, while these so-called friars' lands are declared to be the property of the *Philippine Government*. It is therefore held that whereas the lands belonging to the United States may be conveyed only in accordance with prescribed restrictions as to area, the land belonging to the Philippine Government may be disposed of as the Philippine Government sees fit, except for such specific restrictions as are prescribed with regard to such lands. There are such restrictions mainly with regard to the incurring of indebtedness. What adds force to this contention is the fact that the Philippine Legislature itself, as well as the Philippi Commission, has made regulations co cerning the disposal of these lands; a that these regulations, having been su mitted to Congress, in accordance wi the organic law, have been allowed stand. It appears, therefore, that t sale is in accordance with a perfectly te able interpretation of the law. The seco question, as to whether this sale is accordance with a wise administra policy, may be more briefly answe At first thought it may seem unwise dispose of land in such a large q to any individual or corporation. however, is to be remembered: friars' lands were a burden to the peop for they were held by orders who pa no taxes for the support of the Government. The lands were then purchased; but in the purchase of these lands a debt was incurred on which the Filipino people had to pay interest. In the view of the Philippine Commission, it was decided to be to the advantage of the Filipino people that these lands should be sold, so that this debt could be extinguished, and so that the lands could, through taxation, be made to pay some of the expenses of the Government. Moreover, it must be added, this transaction has apparently been in accordance with the policy that had the approval of the Philippine Legislature. Since the Philippine Government has been given discretion to act in this matter, it does not seem fair to criticise it for exercising that discretion. With regard to the third question, as to whether it was wise to dispose of this land to this particular purchaser, we have no opinion, because we have no basis for forming such an opinion. The charges which have been made on the floor of the House will, we understand, be subject to investigation by the Committee of Congress. Whether those charges have any reasonable foundation or whether they grow out of merely unfounded suspicion will be known when the investigation is completed.

A MENACE OF CRIME

The case of the self-confessed wife-murderer Charlton has brought to public attention (to the surprise, we imagine, of the greater part of the community) a state

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of affairs as regards extradition between the United States and Italy which is inimical to the very safety of society. It seems that although a treaty of extradition exists between Italy and the United States, it is practically of no effect. This country is perfectly willing to carry out the conventions as to extraditions made with Italy in 1868 and 1884, but Italy will not return to the United States Italian citizens who have committed crime in the United States and have then escaped to their native country. The reason given for this is that Italian law requires that accused persons be tried only in the courts of their own country. Such a law ought not to take precedence of a solemn treaty obligation; nevertheless, the Government of Italy has repeatedly refused requests from our own State Department for the extradition of Italian criminals on the ground stated above. Despite this fact, Italy now requests the extradition of Porter Charlton, and our Government, in reply, intimates that it will be exceedingly glad to comply on the understanding that the request from Italy may be taken to show a willingness on the part of that country to act in the same way when the circumstances are reversed. No reply has been received to this intimation, and it is generally believed that the Italian Government does not wish to commit itself to what seems to Americans nothing more than a fair recognition of mutual duties. The situation is an extraordinary one. The first comment suggested is that our Government ought urgently to seek for a new extradition treaty with Italy. It is offering a premium on crime to allow the present condition of affairs to continue; the object in punishing a criminal is not so much to inflict a deserved penalty as to protect society. If a murder committed by an American citizen in Italy is to go unpunished because the criminal has been cunning enough to reach by some means his native shores, and if, on the other hand, an Italian murderer here is to be safe because he has smuggled himself into the steerage of a vessel returning to Italy, then two great nations have left themselves in a condition which only barbarous and uncivilized countries are supposed to maintain. It is true that Italy asserts that her own subjects who have committed crime abroad can be tried in her own courts. But, under the principles and practice of law in this country, such a trial would be impossible, both for legal reasons and because of the practical difficulties in securing evidence at such a distance. But the immediate question is, What should our Government now do? We are very much inclined to say that the better course would be to return the accused man Charlton to Italy, after the proper formalities have been complied with and unless our courts direct his detention as an insane person. To do this would be a declaration that, on our part, we stand ready to carry out our extradition treaty obligations to the utmost, and that we will not refuse to do our duty because Italy refuses to do hers. Such an example would impress upon Italy the necessity and justice of a new and equitable arrangement as to extradition, and, in our judgment, would have more effect in bringing about the desired result than a refusal to carry out our own view of the obligations of the treaty through fear that Italy would continue to hold us at a disadvantage. National self-respect would, it might well be hoped, after such generous action by the United States, lead Italy eagerly to place the whole question on a sound and fair basis.

REVISING THE BRITISH SOVEREIGN'S DECLARATION

The truce continues between Liberals and Conservatives in England over the question of the House of Lords. Meanwhile, Parliament is occupying itself with matters which are not subjects of partisan controversy. One of the most important of these is the suggested modification of the form of the religious declaration made by the Sovereign upon his coronation. The present form of the declaration was adopted upon the deposition of King James II and the accession of William and Mary, when England was in the throes of fierce anti-Papal agitation. It contains phraseology bitterly denunciatory of dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, and has for many years been the subject of earnest protest by British Catholics, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, the premier Duke of the realm and Earl Marshal of England. The Prime

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Minister last week introduced into Parliament a bill altering the form of the declaration, so that it will read as follows:

> I do solemnly and sincerely, and in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I am a faithful member of the Protestant Church as by law established in England, and I shall, according to the true intent of the enactments which secured the Protestant succession to the throne of my realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers and according to law.

This suggested form is in admirable contrast to the old phraseology, which read:

> I do solemnly and sincerely, and in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. . . .

There is ample reason why the British Sovereign, who is, as well, the head of the Established English Church, should solemnly declare upon his accession that he is a Protestant and that he will uphold and maintain the principle that any other than Protestants are barred from succession to the British Throne. But at this day, when the dangers which prompted the adoption of this principle in the seventeenth century and the bitter strife between Catholic and Protestant in England are no more, there is every reason why the declaration of the Sovereign should be couched in the affirmative and inoffensive language of Mr. Asquith's bill, rather than in the negative and denunciatory words of the old declaration. After a brief debate in the House of Commons, the Premier's measure passed its first reading by a vote of 383 to 42. We sincerely hope that it will be promptly enacted by both Houses of Parliament.

"EGYPT FOR THE EGYPTIANS"

Last week Wardani, the slayer of Boutros Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, was hanged. Boutros was an able and efficient official. He was a supporter of the present Anglo-Egyptian Government, and he was a Christian. As Mr. Roosevelt has said, his murder was an even greater wrong to Egypt than to the individual himself. Boutros's assassin was an Egyptian student and so-called Nationalist. His motive, he said, was to avenge various acts of the Government which the Nationalists attributed to Boutros personally. Who are the Nationalists? Those who believe in an Egypt for the Egyptians. But, in this particular party sense, many non-Nationalists believe this. The Nationalists differ from them in declaring that Egypt should be *immediately* intrusted to the Egyptians. To do this the British must retire or be driven out. Some Nationalists really and sincerely believe that Egypt could take care of herself; others are mere adventurers and promoters of disorder. To force the Egyptian Government to a proper discharge of international obligations, England has occupied Egypt during the past generation. The occupancy has not been a thoroughgoing control of all branches of the Egyptian Government. For instance, the Earl of Cromer, late British Agent at Cairo, in an address just before leaving Egypt, disclosed some of the limitations on England's activity in declaring that the Khedive, the Egyptian ruler, might show his coreligionists a way to reform the Mohammedan law courts without in any way shaking the pillars of the Mohammedan faith, and, moreover, that the ruler could also put a stop to the scandals of the administration of religious property. These words certainly implied that the Khedive had until then failed to do the things that Lord Cromer urged him to do. Though no Egyptian Government has ever advanced the people's economic, social, and political interests as has the present Khedivial Government when controlled by Great Britain, no one who has recently visited Egypt could fail to be impressed by the growing Nationalist peril. At such a juncture of all others, Great Britain seems to have displayed weakness rather than strength. The Nationalists actually got the notion that Great Britain was "afraid." This was apparently confirmed when Britons were openly defied on the streets and their insulters not proceeded against. To crown all, Boutros Pasha's murderer was not speedily brought to book—indeed, the Grand Mufti, the Mohammedan ecclesiastic, took the ground that to assassinate

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a Christian was not exactly murder. This sounds like a revival of the opinions prevalent during the bloody conflicts of old time between Mohammedans and Christians.

"EGYPT FOR ISLÂM"

Under these circumstances the attitude of Lord Cromer's successor at Cairo, namely, Sir Eldon Gorst, a son of Sir John Gorst, the well-known parliamentarian, becomes interesting. Gifted as is Sir Eldon in certain directions, his course with the Nationalists in Egypt has been more lenient than was Lord Cromer's, certainly too lenient to suit the believers in a firm control. Sir Eldon's policy is the more striking when we compare it with his words concerning the Boutros murder. He justly affirmed that the ultimate moral responsibility for the assassination rested "upon the Nationalist leaders who had promoted and fomented the attacks made upon officials by Nationalist newspapers with full knowledge that their words must bear fruit in criminal acts." To this the Nationalists replied: "It is better to have Egypt misgoverned by the Egyptians than to have it properly goverened by foreigners." In other words, the Anti-Imperialist platform! We have met it in the Philippines and in Porto Rico. The platform in Egypt, however, has a dual significance. It is not only "Egypt for the Egyptians," it is also "Egypt for Islâm"—the name at once of Mohammed's religious system and of the whole Mohammedan world. To the Egyptian Mohammedans a foreign rule is bad enough; to have a "Christian dog of a Briton" rule over them is intolerable; but to have as Prime Minister an Egyptian who is also a Christian, one of the despised Copts—this is unthinkable. Of course it is specially galling to the Mohammedans, for, though less than a tenth of the population is Christian, it owns more than half the property. In his addresses in Egypt and the Sudan Mr. Roosevelt, in pointing out the perils of that kind of nationalism which condones assassination, did not fail also to point out the perils of religious fanaticism. Neither coincides with the spirit of liberty. The Nationalist newspapers attacked Colonel Roosevelt for these opinions, and some students made a "demonstration" in front of his hotel. Apparently they could not see that they were commanding neither respect nor trust by such exhibitions of a hatred based upon race and religion, and were only giving further evidence of incapacity to the sentimentalists who had claimed the ability of the nation to govern itself. Hence, in his Guildhall address at London, Mr. Roosevelt took occasion to say that those who have to do with uncivilized peoples, especially fanatical peoples, must remember that in such a situation as that in Egypt sentimentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean. English Liberals are supposed to be more sentimental than are English Conservatives, and as Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, is a Liberal, some critics thought him hard hit by Mr. Roosevelt. But Sir Edward has publicly approved Mr. Roosevelt's address, and has admitted that the object of the Nationalist agitation in Egypt was to make British occupation impossible, and that the Government could go no further to benefit Egypt so long as the agitation continued. He declared: "Our occupation must continue, more so now than ever. We have gone on doing more and more good work year after year. That good work depends upon our staying there, and we cannot abandon Egypt without disgrace. The agitation against British occupation in Egypt must have one result—to insist on our occupation." He added that if the agitation were rekindled, the Government's first duty would be to assert British authority; and it is true that in all the cases which have become known since this statement the strong hand has been apparent. We shall watch its further application with interest and sympathy.

THE CHINESE PARLIAMENT

Last week an Imperial decree was issued at Peking refusing the popular demand recently made for the immediate convocation of a National Chinese Parliament. The demand was presented by delegates to the various provincial assemblies and was supported by organizations of merchants throughout the Empire. Some of the merchants had refused to pay the

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stamp tax, hoping in this way to influence Prince Chun, the Regent. A few extremists declared their intention of remaining in Peking until the demands were granted. Some had even pledged themselves to suicide in the event of a refusal! As the delegates represented the revolutionary element among the Chinese, the Regent may have been more than ever influenced to adhere to the original programme as announced by the late Empress Dowager. This provides, first, for provincial assemblies, and, second, for a National Parliament. The provincial assemblies met last autumn and chose delegates to the upper house of the proposed Parliament. This upper house may have a membership of about two hundred. A third of the membership is to be composed of nobles, and the remaining two-thirds are to be representative of the various provinces' mercantile and other organizations. Among these delegates, many of whom have conferred together at Shanghai and at Peking, are those who believe that the lower and popular branch of the proposed national Parliament should meet, if not in the very near future, at least before the expiration of the period laid down by the original Imperial decree. That decree provided for the summoning of the lower house of the new Parliament nine years after the first meeting of the provincial assemblies—that is to say, nine years from last autumn. Prince Chun, we hope, will find occasion to modify his rescript. The meeting of the popular house of the new Chinese Parliament seems the one thing to save the Central Government from political and moral disintegration and to preserve the integrity of the Empire. The recent disturbances in two provinces were caused by economic and anti-foreign factors. Both militated not so much against the provincial as against the Imperial Government. Many provincials feel that they are unrepresented in the Central Government. Though that Government is predominantly Manchu, it does not even represent the Manchu man-in-the-street, much less the Chinese. The early institution of representative government in China would, in our opinion, be of signal advantage, not only to every one of the four hundred million people living in the Empire, but also to the relations of all the Powers with the Empire. Especially would it benefit the relations of that Power which should be, and, we believe is, China's best friend—America.

BISHOP McVICKAR

Thirty-two years ago this very week the Cunarder Scythia bore abroad a crowd of happy, careless college youth, fresh from graduation or term work. They were wont to gather in the ship's bow and sing. In their singing they were led not so much by one of their own number as by two men of maturer years, men of towering form and commanding presence, whose voices seemed to have a corresponding depth and volume. The second day out was Sunday, and the songs were naturally almost entirely sacred in character. After that certain hymns were included in each week-night's songs. Though not attired in clerical garb, the two giants were clergymen, and fast friends, Phillips Brooks and William Neilson McVickar. They were not very far apart in age. Brooks was born in 1835, McVickar in 1843. Both were Broad Churchmen and both destined to become bishops. Their dioceses were to be the neighboring ones of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In 1893 Bishop Brooks died. Last week Bishop McVickar died. It was fitting that Dr. McVickar should succeed that fine old Liberal, Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island. Indeed, twenty years ago very radical theological students seeking holy orders in the Episcopal Church had slim chance of escaping the condemnation of orthodox Standing Committees save in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, where the influence of Bishop Clark's and Bishop Brooks's tolerance and large-mindedness was becoming evident here and there. The Broad Churchman McVickar thus was to carry on Broad Church traditions when, in 1891, he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Rhode Island. In 1903 Bishop Clark died, full of years and honors. Dr. McVickar had long been rector of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia—another bond with Bishop Brooks, who had also been rector of that church. Dr. McVickar's Sunday missionary services at the old Bijou Theater in Philadelphia were a conspicuous feature of his work. At

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Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, as at Holy Trinity, Harlem, he won wide reputation both as an eloquent speaker and as an earnest worker among the poor of his parish. Those who met Dr. McVickar for the first time, attracted by his face, his finely modulated voice, his manner of great gentleness, hardly appreciated his courage and bluntness. Yet these qualities were quickly evident in his condemnation of corruption or hypocrisy, not only in religious and social but also in political and educational affairs. He was particularly outspoken in attacking political chicanery, especially the Rhode Island variety. He gave efficient countenance and aid to those who opposed the dominant "machine," and disdained to listen to appeals from timid folk who did not wish to mix up Christianity and politics. But Dr. McVickar's was an every-day religion and a militant morality. The passing of such a man is a loss to the Church and to the world.

GOVERNOR HUGHES, THE LEGISLATURE, AND PRIMARY REFORM

I believe that Governor Hughes has been supported by the bulk of the wisest and most disinterested public opinion as regards most of his measures and positions, and I think that this has been markedly the case as regards direct primary nominations. I know that many honest and sincere men are on principle opposed to Governor Hughes on this point, and I know also that the proposed reform will very possibly accomplish less than its extreme advocates expect; while I am well aware, as of course all thinking men must be, that the worth of any such measure in the last resort depends upon the character of the voters, and that no patent device will ever secure good government unless the people themselves devote sufficient energy, time, and judgment to make the device work. Finally, I freely admit that here and there, where the principle of direct nominations has been applied in too crude shape or wrongheadedly, it has, while abolishing certain evils, produced or accentuated others—in certain cases, for instance, putting a premium upon the lavish expenditure of money.

But while I freely admit all this, I nevertheless feel, in the first place, that on the fundamental issue of direct primary nominations the Governor is right, and, in the second place, that, as the measure finally came up for action in the State Legislature, it was well-nigh free from all objections save those of the men who object to it because they are fundamentally opposed to any change whatever in the desired direction. The bill provided only for direct popular action in the primaries in relatively small geographical and political communities, thereby making the experiment first where there was least liability to serious objection, and avoiding or deferring the task of dealing with those big communities where the difficulties and dangers to be overcome would be greatest. Moreover, while guaranteeing full liberty of individual action, it also provided for the easy maintenance of party organization, and thereby avoided some very real dangers—among them that of encouraging the use of masses of the minority party in any given district to dictate the actions of the majority party. In other words, the proposed bill, while it marked a very real step in advance, was tentatively and cautiously framed, and provided all possible safeguards against abuses. If in practice it had failed to work in any particular, there would have been no possible difficulty in making whatever amendments or changes were necessary.

The Republican party was in the majority in both houses of the Legislature which refused to carry out the Republican Governor's recommendations; and although it was only a minority of the Republican members which brought about this refusal, the party cannot escape a measure of responsibility for the failure; but it is only just to remember that a clear majority of the Republican members of each house supported the bill, whereas three-fourths or over of the Democrats opposed it. This is one of the cases where it is easier to apportion individual than party responsibility.

Those who believe that by their action they have definitely checked the movement

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for direct popular primaries are, in my judgment, mistaken. In its essence, this is a movement to make the Government more democratic, more responsive to the wishes and needs of the people as a whole. With our political machinery it is essential to have an efficient party, but the machinery ought to be suited to democratic and not oligarchic customs and habits. The question whether in a self-governing republic we shall have self-governing parties is larger than the particular bill. We hold that the right of popular self-government is incomplete unless it includes the right of the voters not merely to choose between candidates when they have been nominated, but also the right to determine who these candidates shall be. Under our system of party government, therefore, the voters should be guaranteed the right to determine within the ranks of their respective organizations who the candidates of the parties will be, no less than the right to choose between the candidates when the candidates are presented them. There is no desire to break down the responsibility of party organization under duly constituted party leadership, but there is a desire to make this responsibility real and to give the members of the party the right to say whom they desire to execute this leadership. In New York State no small part of the strength of the movement has come from the popular conviction that many of the men most prominent in party leadership tend at times to forget that in a democracy the function of a political leader must normally be to lead, not to drive. We, the men who compose the great bulk of the community, wish to govern ourselves. We welcome leadership, but we wish our leaders to understand that they derive their strength from us, and that, although we look to them for guidance, we expect this guidance to be in accordance with our interests and our ideals.

I believe that the people of New York State will in the end insist on taking a more direct part in the nomination of candidates, because I believe that they will grow more and more to insist on just the kind of guidance and leadership that I have mentioned.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CONGRESS AND THE POPULAR WILL

What Congress has accomplished in the session recently brought to an end has been variously characterized. It has been called the enactment of the Taft programme, the fulfillment of the Republican promises, the clinching of the Roosevelt policies. In so far as it is one of these it is the others; for the Taft programme was formulated for the purpose of fulfilling the Republican promises, and the Republican promises were made in accordance with the Roosevelt policies. The work of Congress can therefore be measured by this standard which may be variously called the Roosevelt policies, the Republican promises, and the Taft programme. In other words, it can be regarded from the point of view of current political opinion.

So regarded, it approaches the standard to an extraordinary degree. The legislation for which President Taft made his recommendations has already been largely realized. These recommendations comprised further control of carriers in inter-State commerce, conservation and reclamation, postal savings banks, Statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, publicity for campaign contributions, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and a Bureau of Public Health, subsidies for merchant ships, reform of legal procedure, particularly with regard to injunctions, a change in postal rates, a new government for Alaska, Federal incorporation, prohibition of the white slave traffic, prevention of railway accidents, and economy in government. Measures introduced in accordance with these recommendations have been, with few exceptions, passed. Little legislation has been enacted that will promote conservation and reclamation, and some of that may be hurtful. The law which authorizes bonds for the completion of reclamation projects and requires an examination of reclamation projects by army engineers will work a double injury to the cause of reclamation. It discourages the co-operation of water users with the Government, and it writes on the statute-books a demoralizing announcement that the engineers of the reclamation service are not to be absolutely trusted.

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On the other hand, though two bills for Conservation were passed, the really important legislation needed for the proper use of the natural resources of the Nation was left virtually untouched. It is not possible here to point out the failures in detail. It is some compensation that several measures which would have been injurious to the public interest in these resources were likewise left unenacted. The ship subsidy bill advocated by the Administration failed of passage. Though this was a defeat for one of the President's recommendations, it was, in our opinion, a victory for the American people. The same may be said regarding the President's plan to change the postal rates. Four other measures which the President urged likewise failed of passage: the injunction bill, the bill for the establishment of a Bureau of Public Health, the Federal incorporation bill, and the Alaskan government bill. Of these, the last was of doubtful merit; the rest were of value. In the case of none of these, however, will postponement do any lasting injury.

The rest of the programme has been substantially transcribed upon the statute-books. As a consequence, two new States are admitted into the Union, Federal control over inter-State carriers has been greatly increased, the Post-Office is made to serve not only for the transmission but also for the profitable safe-keeping of the people's money, the infamous traffic in women is made more perilous, the lives of workers in the mines and on the railways are more carefully guarded, corruption in politics is treated with a new dose of the antitoxin of publicity, a basis is provided for a more reasonable and just tariff law, and a beginning is made on behalf of more economical government.

To distribute credit for this result is not a task we shall assume. Since, however, the country would have held the Republican party responsible for failure, it is but just that the country attribute to that party this creditable measure of success. And as the country would have been free to blame, so also it should, and we believe will, be equally willing to praise the President. He has been in the difficult position of a prime minister without a vote or a responsible ministry in the legislative body, and in that position he has witnessed the enactment of a proportion of his party's programme sufficient to make any prime minister with a responsible ministry content. By formulating and by keeping clear before Congress a legislative programme, President Taft has contributed an essential force in producing the result.

The fact, however, that the President has taken an important part in the process of legislation should not obscure the original and effective work of Congress itself. So far from being a ratifying body, Congress has taken the measures submitted to it—in some cases drafted by the Executive—and molded them into their final, and in most instances an improved, form. The disaster that was predicted because of insurgency among the Republicans in both Senate and House never appeared. On the contrary, as a consequence of that insurgency, the House was liberated from the disproportionate power of obstructionists and the Senate was liberated from the disproportionate power of reactionaries. To this spirit of insurgency the President and the country owe not so much the enactment of the programme as the effectiveness of that enactment.

This is the significance of the work of Congress from the point of view of current political opinion. There is, however, a deeper significance than that.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the United States was engaged in the struggle over the question whether it was a mere Confederation or whether it was really a Nation. That struggle ended only with the Civil War. Since then the United States has been learning to exercise its National powers. And it needed to exercise National powers, for with the period beginning with the close of the Civil War arose new National problems.

The first of those new National problems was that of the control of National commerce. For forty years the Nation has been learning the extent of that problem. It has learned that the railways of the country are the National highways; that the people use those highways without regard to State lines; and that freedom in the use of those highways, without

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favors to special interests, depends upon the exercise of the popular will in the control of those highways without regard to State lines. So step by step the Nation has been feeling its way in the exercise of its sovereignty over the railways of the Nation.

First, the machinery for such control was created in the establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission; but the machinery was scarcely used. Then the people, under the leadership of the Roosevelt Administration, became determined that the machinery should be put to work, and the Rate Regulation Bill was passed. Now, under the administration of President Taft, that same machinery has been put to a larger task. The Inter-State Commerce Law that has just been enacted is the formulation of the popular will as it has been trained by the experience and discussion of a generation.

The next problem that confronted the Nation was the use and control of the natural wealth belonging to the whole people. At first this problem was scarcely recognized. Gradually, however, the people learned the value of their possessions, and, under the leadership of the Roosevelt Administration, became convinced that the old policy of disposal was not only wasteful but productive of inequality and of the growth of special interests at the public expense. Congress has not yet clearly perceived—apparently the President has not clearly perceived—the nature of this unformulated issue between the disposal to private interests and the conservation for the public benefit of the public wealth. But both Congress and the President have so far recognized this issue that by legislation the power and authority of the President to protect the rights and interests of the public has been authoritatively affirmed, and to that extent his responsibility to the public has been increased, or at least defined and asserted. In a measure, therefore, under the Administration of President Taft, the old policy of disposal which has been formulated in statutes is continuing to give way to the new policy of Conservation. What has been accomplished is the result of the education of popular opinion and the expression of the popular will.

Finally, and most slowly of all, there has become impressed upon the minds of the American people the National problem involved in what may be called conditions of life or social environment. The dwarfing of American children by factory work, the maiming and killing of men by preventable accidents in the factory, in the mine, or on the railway, the peril from epidemics and from occupational disease, these and other like evils arising from environment are a matter of concern not merely to the States as States, but to the Nation as a Nation. Under the last Administration popular opinion was informed with regard to these evils; and was helped to understand the necessity of preventing other evils of similar origin from arising. The Country Life Commission, the White House Conference on Children, the agitation regarding conditions of labor and the like, all produced a body of public sentiment that found expression. It is in response to the popular will, aroused by knowledge of the inexcusable conditions in American mines, that a Bureau of Mines has been created by Congress. It is in response to the popular will, thus developed, that a bill for the establishment of a Children's Bureau has been introduced into Congress, though it has not yet been passed. So the action taken regarding safety appliances on railways and the reporting of railway accidents is in further response to the popular will. If the present Administration and Congress in its session just ended have laid less emphasis on legislation regarding such matters than on legislation regarding commerce and conservation, it is partly due to the fact that public opinion regarding such matters is of late growth.

Thus for years the public will concerning these problems inviting the exercise of the National power has been accumulating in force. The barriers which special interests have raised against that will have been strong; but they cannot withstand it altogether. During this past session of Congress many of these barriers have been removed by the combined action of President Taft, of the Republican organization, and of the Insurgent movement. This session, therefore, will be remembered as one during which the

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popular will, as trained and guided in former years, found new expression in law.

If the more radical feel that this expression is too cautious and this movement toward a more perfect democracy too slow, they may at least console themselves with the reflection that it is for that reason less likely to produce a reaction.

THE CHILDREN OF THE CITY

There are three ways in which we may treat the child:

We may treat him as an economic asset, and put him to work as soon as he is able to earn money. This is the method of child labor. To this method many parents are driven in our industrial system by their poverty.

We may treat him as a pet animal, whom we will caress and amuse so long as he caresses and amuses us. When we cease to be mutually entertaining, we dismiss him to the nursery to the care of paid assistants. This is the method not infrequently pursued by the rich.

We may treat him as a pupil, the beginning of a child of God intrusted to our hands to finish. This is the method to which an educated parental instinct, a developed conscience, and an intelligent social sense combine to call us.

And this is not merely an individual duty; it is also a community duty. It defines the obligations of the parents to their child; it also defines the obligation of the city to its children. Hundreds of thousands of children are born every year into the strange environment of our great cities, with their abnormal conditions and their perplexing problems, cities alive with strange and powerful influences, some good, some bad, but always complicated, always imperfectly understood. The object of the Child Welfare Exhibit to be held in New York next fall is to show the people of New York City how these children of the city are being trained in the homes, in the streets, in the schools and churches, in libraries, in parks and playgrounds, in theaters, in stores and factories, in courts, reformatories, and institutions, in settlements, associations, and clubs; in brief, how they are being treated and how they might be treated, what is being done for them and what can be done. Here are a few suggestive facts and figures which have already been secured:

The experience of the Department of Health and of the New York Milk Committee demonstrates that the lives of thousands of babies can be saved at the cost of $35 per baby. The total cost per year of the funerals of children who needlessly die in New York, figured at $50 per funeral (the average estimate of Mulberry Street undertakers), is $425,000. Does it seem to the reader that putting the price of babies' lives and deaths in this economic fashion is somewhat grotesque? We concede it; but perhaps the grotesqueness will compel attention.

Crowded, ill-ventilated, ill-lighted tenements force the children into the street, where there are perils from street dirt, perils from street traffic, perils from contagious disease, perils often from grossly immoral conditions. In certain sections of the city the total available space per child is only four by five feet, and this is shared by him with the automobiles, trucks, wagons, pushcarts, and adult foot-passengers. Despite all that has been said in favor of small parks, New York City stands ninth in the list of the ten largest cities in opportunity for outdoor recreation. Whereas Boston has ten per cent of its total area devoted to park space, New York has only three per cent, and most of this is located either in the outlying Boroughs of the city or in Central Park, Manhattan, removed from centers of population.

Private enterprise provides a certain quantity and quality of indoor recreation. As to quantity, the thirty-six high-priced theaters in Manhattan are attended weekly by fifteen thousand children under eighteen years of age; the forty-nine cheap theaters are attended weekly by one hundred and eighty thousand children under eighteen years of age; and the two hundred moving-picture shows in Manhattan are attended weekly by four hundred thousand under eighteen years of age. We are not quite sure whether some of these children do not attend more than once a week; the same child, therefore, may be counted more than once. As to quality, cheap theaters range from unob-

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jectionable to intolerably bad. The Committee reports: "We have seen no vaudeville shows which, taken as a whole, we would recommend as having positive developmental value for children."

The remedy for turning the children into crowded streets for their play hours is an adequate provision of small parks for their benefit. The city owes something to its children. At least it owes to them a chance to breathe pure air and take healthful exercise with a possibility of decent companionship. One remedy for the inadequate indoor recreation is an enlarged use of the school buildings. The vast majority of these buildings are used only a small part of the day. They can easily, without injury to their educational use, be employed during many hours of the day for recreative purposes. It is said that the Department of Education is eager to extend this work, but lacks the necessary funds.

These fragments of information suggest the work in which the Child Welfare Committee is engaged. The city of New York is going to school next November to learn why so many children die, why so many grow up in vice and ignorance, to become a burden and a peril to the community, and what can be done to train these children in a different direction and fit them for a different life. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are co-operating in this work. Churches, social settlements, colleges, charitable organizations, city departments, public schools, are all affiliated in it. Nearly five hundred people are actively working on or with the Committees, and there is a staff of thirteen paid secretaries directing the work. If facts already discovered are humiliating, there is an inspiration to hope in that so large an army is engaged in the discovery of facts, and in an earnest, scientific endeavor to find a remedy. The Child Welfare Exhibit, gathered by the efforts of these Committees, will be presented to the public at the Seventy-first Regiment Armory, Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue, New York, during November, 1910.

It promises to be a far-sighted and constructive piece of work looking to the conservation of human resources—vastly more important than mines, water power sites, and forests, important as those are.

ROMAN CATHOLIC REGENERATION

Two recently published books indicate that religion is greater than the formulas supposed to express it.

The authors are Roman Catholics. Mgr. Fracassini is a canon of Perugia Cathedral, and was formerly a professor in the seminary at Perugia. What is more, he is a member of the Pontifical Commission on the Study of the Bible. His volume [1] comprises a number of historico-critical lectures of interest to the student of the Bible. But the subject-matter is of far less importance than the Modernist spirit animating it. The book actually reflects a scientific rather than an ecclesiastical spirit. Yet a purely scientific spirit may be, as we here see, joined to a profound religious sentiment. In this connection of form and spirit we can appreciate the fact that Modernism transforms not only the religious but also the intellectual experience, that the latter helps the former, or, to use Canon Fracassini's own phrase, "historical criticism lends a precious service to the religious life." This is Modernism—a movement emphasizing spirit as far more precious than form. The age molds the form. But the power of the eternal spirit passes through the successive forms molded by successive ages. Moreover, it passes through not only with undiminished but with increasing energy.

Under these circumstances we are almost as startled as we are gratified to learn that Mgr. Fracassini's book has received the Vatican's *imprimatur*. This indicates to us that, after all, it is possible for a broad-minded book to run the Vatican's gauntlet. The Fracassini book may prove—and we are inclined to think that it will so prove—the thin edge of the wedge opening the way for official approbation of other books of an even more liberalizing tendency. Certainly we regard the volume as the outward sign of an inward grace, and as marking the Church's acknowledgment of the beginning of a new regenerative epoch.

In this connection the "Letters to His Holiness Pius X" [2] should be read. With

[1] Che cos' è la Bibbia. Da Umberto Fracassini. Francesco Ferrari, Rome, Italy. $1.

[2] Letters to His Holiness Pius X. By a Modernist. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois. $1.25.

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the author, we also are Modernists and friends of the true Church of Rome; for we desire to see her at liberty to use her great organization for the support of every cause which makes for the larger and richer life of humanity. We also press two considerations upon this Church:

First, Should not the logic of events press upon the Vatican its responsibility in deciding whether it will continue to insist upon the existing rigidity of dogma or will permit a larger liberty; whether it will maintain old superstitions or will cast aside the ancient slaveries?

Second, we would gladly see some definite education of both priest and laymen for the work of reconstruction. At the present we may not hope for any authoritative restatement of the Roman Catholic creeds. But at least we may reasonably hope for some change in Roman Catholic external polity. We may even hope that this change will not come from any demands of mere expediency but from a regeneration of the inner spirit.

In the ultimate analysis, then, the practical result, we believe, of the suggestions found in these two volumes will be an added impetus to the liberty of free inquiry. Why should not the spirit of the Roman Catholic Church reverse itself and come to be Catholic first and Roman second?

THE SPECTATOR

When one receives an invitation from the German Emperor, one has already accepted. To the German the big gray-and-gold card is a command; with others acceptance is presumed, and the Spectator, on receiving one, was warned by his friends against then and there returning his "accepts with pleasure the kind invitation of his Imperial Majesty to the Royal Opera of 'Sardanapalus.'"

Promptly at seven o'clock on the appointed day, however, the Spectator arrived before the Royal Opera-House. The Kaiser is never late, and the Spectator had received a card, following close upon the invitation, from the Master of Ceremonies telling him, in German fashion, not under any circumstances to be late, exactly how he was to dress ("*weisse Unterkleider*" for himself, and he wondered whether it meant knee-breeches or simply drawers, and for ladies "*keine viereckige aufgeschnittene Kleider*"), in what fashion he was to arrive, and precisely where he was to sit. Thanks to this guidance a seat was soon found, a long distance from the Ambassadors, but by so much the nearer to the Box of Glory, and the Spectator had plenty of time to look around at the scenery and the people.

The audience were a Kaiser's guests. There were the very cream of royalty, glittering in uniforms and jewels, grave *Staatsministers* with broad blue bands of honor, visiting dignitaries from German Courts, the entire list of presentations at the latest imperial *Schleppen Cour*, and, scattered among them, Ambassadors and other diplomats from all over the world. Directly facing him, however, was a far different court, that of ancient Assyria, painted on two great curtains of blue silk, designed by university professors—which is not frequently the case with ordinary curtains—and transporting the audience at once to the scenes of the coming opera. Looking at them, the Spectator realized something of what he had heard about this famous and least-known operatic creation of modern times. He had learned that it was distinctly the Kaiser's own project, conceived by himself, and Imperially fostered. For five years Assyriologists, archæologists, and savants had been summoned or invited from all parts of the modern and ancient world to aid in its preparation; even the scenes had been written to order under the auspices of a university, and everything was correct, down to the enameled pictures on the spokes of Sardanapalus's chariot wheel.

While this was passing through his mind half-past seven struck, and the house rose as the Kaiser, attended by the Chinese Commissioners in whose honor the gala opera was being given, dressed in the loose sack suits of mandarins, entered the Imperial box. There was one deep, subterranean roar and everybody sat down again. The house had said "*Hoch!*" The curtains opened upon the inner temple of the Assyrian gods, and the Specta-

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tor had a surprise. There was no singing; the opera was a pantomime with musical accompaniment, but neither words nor voices. Being unable to see the pictures on the spokes of the chariot wheels, and unable to appreciate them if he had done so, the Spectator could take in only the more general features of the act, yet these proved a succession of most brilliant and nobly conceived pageants, and the Spectator thought that Sardanapalus himself might feel at home, if not indeed impressed, by reviewing his twentieth-century impersonation. There were the tall, pointed steel caps of guards and armor of glittering mail; there were white-robed priests, and dancing-girls, and the flashing of swords, and sweeping Eastern gestures. The plot was somewhat obscure, though its essentials were obvious. A religious ceremony was in progress, but the god did not light the altar-fire, and twice when he should have nodded there were lightning and an earthquake instead. Later it became evident that a general was being chosen to go out to fight the barbarians and that the first two choices were rejected, while the third found favor and was elected, the god suddenly blazing in fire and the altar flashing up to the temple roof.

When the act closed, the Spectator suddenly became aware that through it all he had scarcely noticed the music. It had been a mere running accompaniment, adding little to the emotions of the scene. Also he discovered why there were no words. As the opera is always given in honor of distinguished visitors, who perhaps cannot understand German, or even Assyrian, the simple expedient was devised of having no words at all. He communicated this fact to his next-hand neighbor, a young Secretary of the British Embassy, and received confirmation of the opinion. "The Assyriologists may have differed on the text," the boy volunteered. "I went to see 'Julius Cæsar' last night, Mark Antony and all. Do you remember where he tells how Cæsar left ten *sestertii* or something to every Roman citizen in his will?" The Spectator nodded. "Well, Mark got up and said in German that the good Cæsar had left *seventy-five pfennige* to every Roman citizen, and not a single German laughed." The curtain soon rose on the second act, presenting the amusements of Sardanapalus while his general was gone. These were provided by successions of slaves, musical instruments, horse sales, and dancing-girls. Only toward the end was there any reappearance of plot, when messengers began arriving with latest news from the war. They came more and more frequently, disturbing the dances, and as the news got worse the King would kill the messenger until a ring of corpses lay stretched about the throne. The act closed amid rapidly rising excitement, and as the curtains fell the Kaiser left the box and the audience rose to go out to the foyers, while such as desired obtained beer and ham and cheese in the lobby.

The third act culminated in overwhelming tragedy. Sardanapalus, learning of the crushing defeat of his army and expecting massacre on the arrival of his enemies, had gone with his Queen and his slaves, his courtiers and his dancing-girls, the whole *familia* of the Court, into the great treasure-room of the palace and locked the doors. Amid the silence of despair fire was applied and flames sprang up in twenty places. What followed was indescribable. There were shrieks and wild cries of terror, running to and fro, and hammering at the bolted doors. Smoke poured out in volumes, the flames roared and crackled, and with a terrible shriek the King's favorite dancing-girl, dreading the death by fire, took poison in the very center of the stage. Amid his people, choking and dying in agony, the King seized the unconscious form of the Queen and dragged her over the bags of treasure, up among the gold vases and the elephant tusks, to the great golden throne, upon which he fell beside her. With a crash and a wild whirl of sparks the throne sank, the roof collapsed, and the walls fell together, while over the smoking, blazing ruins poured a wild crowd of barbarians shouting and waving crimson swords. It was tremendous, paralyzing. Then suddenly the Assyrian curtains closed, the house rose together to greet the standing Kaiser, and, with once again a deep and appreciative "*Hoch!*" "Sardanapalus" was over.

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THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMPANIES AND THE PEOPLE

BY LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

PUBLIC service companies should be conducted for the service of the public. They should be conducted for the purpose for which they exist, and for no other purpose. This proposition, while axiomatic in principle, is both new and revolutionary in practice.

Three years ago, under the leadership of Governor Hughes, the people of New York State demanded that their Legislature take effective means for enforcing this simple proposition. This popular demand finally resulted in the Public Service Commissions Law, which took effect July 1, 1907. Under the terms of this law the Governor appointed two Commissions of five members each—one for the city of Greater New York, known as the Public Service Commission for the First District, and one for the rest of the State, known as the Public Service Commission for the Second District.

As its first task the Commission for the First District (the one with which this article deals in concrete cases) started an investigation of the financial condition of the surface railways of Manhattan. The investigation disclosed that the bankrupt condition of this great system, so long looked upon by investors as a "gold mine," was mainly due to leases under which excessive rentals were paid, to constant additions to bonded indebtedness with consequent increase in fixed charges, to a kind of accounting by which unearned dividends were paid, while roads and equipment were neglected, and finally to a recklessly liberal transfer system. The funded debt of the system was arbitrarily increased from $20,000,000 in 1897 to $106,000,000 in 1907. In the latter year the bonded debt per mile of surface electric track had reached $1,500,000. One line of about a mile of single track, a few cars and horses, were purchased by a certain man for $50,000. He subsequently sold it to one of the companies of the Metropolitan System for $500,000 in bonds and $500,000 in stock. When the Commission investigated this million-dollar subsidiary company, it was found to possess, beside the few cars and horses, a number of papers, documents, and books, and some leases that looked valuable but proved on investigation to be worthless. This line, which it would have been very difficult to sell for $25,000, stood on the books of the company for $1,000,000 of securities. This incident sheds light on the manner in which the total capitalization of the Metropolitan System had at the time of the Commission's investigation reached over $700,000,000. Finally, one after another, like a row of ninepins, the constituent companies of this huge system fell into bankruptcy, and the courts put them into the hands of Federal receivers, whence they are now struggling to emerge.

It is the fundamental purpose of the Public Service Commissions Law to prevent the sacrifice of the public service of all to the private gain of a few. The Commissions have jurisdiction over all transportation, gas, and electrical companies exercising public franchises. The Public Service Commission for the Second District has recently been given jurisdiction over telephone and telegraph companies as well. The Commissions are to require that service be safe and adequate, that rates be reasonable and to all alike for like service, that accounts be so kept as to reveal and not conceal the actual financial condition of the companies, and finally that capitalization shall represent present facts instead of future possibilities. The law seeks not so much the protection of the people against the corporations or the corporations against the people as the protection of both alike against manipulators and speculators—the common enemies of both and of the State.

One of the first tasks which the Commission for the First District undertook was an investigation of the cars of this seven-hundred-million-dollar traction sys-

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tem. It was found that such was their condition that twenty per cent of them were withdrawn from service daily for repairs. After they had been thoroughly overhauled and repaired by order of the Commission five per cent only were so withdrawn. Naturally, the proverbial crush at the Brooklyn Bridge was one of the problems which the Commission early attacked. Here it was found, among many other causes for the congestion, that a certain line of surface cars which was handling sixteen per cent only of the Bridge traffic was providing sixty-two per cent of the breakdowns and ensuing delays. After this company had carried out the order of the Commission to repair its cars, while it still did sixteen per cent of the business, it caused only thirteen per cent of the delays.

When the Subway was opened in 1904, it was used daily by about 400,000 people. It is now used by between 800,000 and 1,000,000 people daily. It does not require a traction expert to understand that to keep pace with such an increase in patronage is beyond the limits of the possible. To meet this impossible situation as nearly as might be, the consulting engineer of the Commission, after an exhaustive investigation, made recommendations for bringing the Subway to its maximum capacity. On the suggestion or order of the Commission, these recommendations are being put into effect. Guards were stationed on the platforms to help in the loading and unloading of trains, a speed control was introduced at express stations by which the interval between trains has been greatly reduced and the number of trains correspondingly increased, side doors have been placed on express trains which enable the passengers to get in and out more expeditiously and with less crowding. These changes have not only increased the safety of travel in the Subway, but they have increased the carrying capacity by at least ten per cent. When the final recommendation, the lengthening of the platforms, which is now under way, has been carried out, the capacity will in all probability have been increased some twenty-five per cent in all, and the limit of expansion will have been reached. The Commission has had the car lights increased from ten to sixteen candle power. Storage batteries have also been ordered installed in each car, so that in case of accident the vague terrors of sudden darkness may be averted. Strict rules are also being enforced as to the proper heating of cars. The Commission has ordered all the traction companies to operate up to their maximum capacity during the rush hours, and so as to provide a seat for each pasenger. The length of the so-called "rush hour" period has also been materially increased by order of the Commission.

After a series of exhaustive tests, the Commission ordered all surface cars to be equipped with the kind of fenders and wheelguards which had been found by experiment to be the most effective. Some of the results of these orders, together with those for the repair of the cars, are reflected in the accident statistics compiled by the Commission. The surface cars of the city killed 508 people in 1907–08, as against 380 for the years 1908–09. This, together with a corresponding 30% reduction in serious injuries, resulted in a saving of about $1,000,000 in damages to the companies and a saving to the community of about $2,000,000 in prevention of economic loss. In other words, instead of spending a million dollars on accident lawyers, mangled victims, and bereaved relatives, the companies spend it on the prevention of accidents, not only for that year, but for years to come. These estimates were made before the Commission's orders had, as now, been fully carried out. The later estimates, which are not yet available, will undoubtedly show a corresponding improvement.

In investigating gas and electrical companies, one of the first matters, other than the regular inspection of meters, which attracted the attention of the Commission was what is known as "breakdown service." This is service afforded a person or company having a private plant when such plant breaks down or is unequal to the demands of an emergency. Some of the companies had refused altogether to provide such service, while others gave it only grudgingly and at excessive rates. They appeared to look upon the owner of a private plant as a competitor to be

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driven out of business rather than as a patron to be served. As the risks of maintaining a private plant are obviously too great unless it can be supplemented in case of emergency, the policy of the companies was gradually forcing the owners of private plants to abandon them and patronize the companies exclusively, regardless of their wishes or advantage. After a series of investigations and informal conferences, the Commission succeeded in securing from the companies an agreement to provide service to owners of private plants without discrimination and at reasonable rates. The owner of the private gas or electrical plant is no longer penalized. And this adjustment was effected without the issuance of a single formal order. In other words, the Commission accomplished the desired result, as is often the case, by the use of its influence and without resort to its legal powers.

A certain "breakdown" customer who had since 1900 been paying the Edison Company on an average $150 a year for power was suddenly called upon in 1909 to make in future a minimum annual payment of $900. He complained to the Commission. After full investigation and consideration the Commission decided that there was no justification for the $900 charge. The Company voluntarily accepted this ruling, and this particular citizen is some $750 a year better off than he would otherwise have been. The Commission also found that the gas and electrical companies had almost as many different kinds of contracts as they had customers. Most of these contracts were so technical in their phraseology that they might as well have been written in an unknown tongue so far as the ordinary customer was concerned. The making of a contract was a kind of duel of wits between the Company and the customer. But the Company, with its unintelligible contracts, played with loaded dice. The Commission has established forms of contract which are uniform for like service, the terms of which are published as public records, and which one may read and understand without becoming a specialist in the production and distribution of gas and electricity. The sale of gas and electricity is no longer conducted after the manner of an old-time New England horse trade.

Before the days of the Commission the public service corporations' usual manner of handling complaints appeared to be based upon the policy of adding insult to injury. It was generally necessary to be a stockholder or a prominent citizen to receive even courteous consideration. The complaint of the ordinary citizen was brushed aside like a fly, as one of the necessary annoyances of conducting a semi-public business. But the day of the ordinary citizen has come at last. He may now, by merely addressing the Commission, be placed on a par with "those having authority." The Commission handles some ten thousand complaints a year. About one-third of them are satisfied—that is, the complainants get what they wanted, or what they want when they learn all the facts. Perhaps a quarter are dismissed as being either baseless or ill-founded. In handling these impossible and unreasonable complaints the Commission fills the humble but useful rôle of buffer for the companies assailed. Every complaint is acknowledged as soon as received. It is then sent to the corporation against which it is lodged, with the requirement that within ten days either the cause of complaint be removed or an explanation sent to the complainant and to the Commission. If this explanation is satisfactory, the matter is dropped. If not, an investigation is made by the experts of the Commission. In matters of sufficient moment hearings are held at which both sides have opportunity to present their case before the Commission, or a Commissioner, sitting as an informal court. Upon the basis of fact brought out by the expert investigation plus the evidence presented in hearings the Commission either orders the complaint dismissed or directs the company to satisfy it within a given time. For each day's violation of an order of the Commission a transportation company is liable to a maximum fine of $5,000, a gas or electrical company $1,000. It is, however, always and increasingly the tendency of the Commissioners to secure their ends by friendly negotiations rather than by resorting to their mandatory powers. This method becomes increasingly effective as the corporations

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realize more and more that the Commission is not a hostile body created for their prosecution and persecution. While a few companies, in spite of abundant evidence to the contrary, still cling to the idea that the Commission is an enemy that must be fought at every step, many are now cooperating with the Commissioners, greatly to the advantage of themselves, the Commission, and the public.

Here are a few of the ten thousand complaints of last year selected at random by way of illustration. A man complained that an electrical company had charged him $150 for connecting his store with their main. The law reads that connections must be made free of charge to customers whose premises are within 100 feet of the company's nearest main. This complainant asserted that his store was within 100 feet of the company's nearest main, and demanded that the $150 be refunded. The company claimed that the distance between the store and the main was over 105 feet. After investigation and informal hearings before the Commissioner having such matters in charge, it was found that the company had not made the shortest feasible connection, and that had they done so it would have been well within the 100-foot limit. The Commissioner held that, such being the case, the complainant was clearly entitled to the free connection. The company promptly accepted the ruling of the Commissioner and sent the storekeeper the $150. In a letter to the Commissioner he says: "I desire to take this occasion to thank you for the interest and courtesy you have shown me in this matter. Without your valuable assistance I would have been utterly powerless to obtain my rights."

A woman who was about to open a little store in the Bronx could not get her electric lighting installed. The company would not act. Her opening day was rapidly approaching, with no prospect of lights. In desperation, she appealed to the Commission. The Commission immediately took the matter up with the company, and later the complainant wrote as follows: "As stated in their [the company's] letter, the electric service was installed immediately after receipt of your letter to them, and in time for the opening of my store. I cannot thank you too much for the assistance you have given me, and feel proud of the administration of the State of New York that gave to the citizens a Board of Trustees over the interests of the individual and of the common people."

A local civic organization in Brooklyn submitted a long list of complaints regarding service on various lines of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company. After thorough investigation the Commission decided that only one of these complaints could be satisfied with justice to all concerned. This one matter was taken up with the Company and adjusted in accordance with the request of the complainants. A long letter was sent to the organization explaining at some length why the other requests must be denied. In spite of their very slight proportion of success, the association was so much pleased with the letter of explanation that they secured permission to publish it in a local paper. It is safe to say that had the Company sent them just such a letter they would have called it a "bluff" and continued their agitation. Not long ago a similar organization complained of the "cruel and unusual" noise made by the surface cars on a certain street because of worn-out tracks. The Commission's Transportation Engineer, after investigation, secured from the Company a written promise to lay new tracks on this street as soon as the materials could be assembled. The Company further agreed to make some immediate temporary repairs so that the sleep-robbed citizens should have partial relief almost at once. A man who had complained to the Commission two months before about the very inadequate service on the elevated line which he uses daily in going to and from his business writes: "I had not expected these —— trains would be run at such short intervals, but the increased traffic will no doubt justify this liberal addition to the service the Company has made." Such cases as these could be cited almost without end.

As most of the rates of fare within its jurisdiction are fixed by statute, the Commission for the First District naturally has very few rate cases. The only such case of importance was decided in favor of the companies. Two citizens demanded

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that the rate of fare between New York and Coney Island be reduced from ten to five cents. This was an economic question. If the ten-cent fare gave the companies an undue profit, the rate should be lowered. If five cents would give them a fair profit, the rate should be so fixed. Just as it is contrary to the Public Service Commissions Law for private capital to reap an excessive return on the sale of a public service, so it is contrary to the Constitution to oblige private capital to provide any kind of service without a fair profit. In order to decide this question on the basis of a full knowledge of all the facts, the Commission made an exhaustive valuation of the properties of the companies concerned. The Commissioner who wrote the prevailing opinion says in conclusion: "The trend of the testimony offered would indicate that this Coney Island business is not profitable (this means even at the rate of ten cents) to the companies, and there is nothing that would justify the Commission in ordering a five-cent fare. This is more apparent when it is borne in mind that companies in a solvent and prosperous condition best serve the welfare of the public both as travelers and investors, and it is in their interest as well as that of their many employees that they should be maintained in this condition." By the noisy extremists who insist that the Commission should be an anti-corporation body this decision was denounced. By the great mass of fair-minded people it was received with approval.

From the point of view of the State the purpose of a railway company exercising a franchise granted by the people is to provide the best possible transportation facilities at the lowest possible price. From the point of view of the owners the object is the earning of dividends on the capital invested. The sacrifice of service to dividends brings disaster. The sacrifice of dividends to service also brings disaster. The two purposes must be kept in stable equilibrium. It is the duty of the Commissions to maintain this equilibrium. Almost every day the Commissions protect public service companies against unreasonable and impossible demands. Previously the companies had to protect themselves from such demands. As is well known, their methods of self-protection were sometimes, to say the least, unethical. Likewise, almost every day the Commissions secure from some company some perfectly reasonable concession to public comfort which would not otherwise be granted. During the session just closed of the New York State Legislature a sheaf of demagogic anti-corporation bills were defeated in large part by reason of the mere existence of the Public Service Commissions. Under the old conditions the companies would have spent large sums to defeat these measures, and these large sums would in the last analysis have come out of the pockets of their patrons. If, under former conditions, the agents of the corporations, seized by a sudden cataclysm of righteous impotence, should have allowed such bills to become laws, the people would in the long run have been the chief sufferers from the resulting havoc. On the other hand, when the agents of the public utilities introduce bills of their own peculiar brand, they find the existence of the Commissions equally effective in blocking their passage. It is one of the specified duties of the Commissions to recommend to the Legislature measures which they believe to be in the public interest in the regulation of public utilities. Thus both directly and indirectly they exercise a powerful influence over such legislation.

By virtue of the necessarily monopolistic character of their business, buttressed by the special privileges granted by the people through public franchises, many of the public service corporations of the country gradually fell into the hands of speculators. These speculators had but one purpose—their own enrichment. They cared neither for the service of the public nor for the dividends of the stockholders, except those that reached their own pockets. They were enemies equally of the companies whom they were supposed to serve and of the public whom the companies were supposed to serve.

Such companies become in reality speculative enterprises run in the interests of the favored few who control them. These speculators first rob the public in the interest of the stockholders by sacrificing service to dividends, and then they rob the

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stockholders and enrich themselves by unloading upon them at exorbitant rates issue upon issue of securities which do not represent real values. After defrauding the patrons of the service for which they paid and the stockholders of the equities which they bought, they leave the companies stripped and stranded upon the reefs of bankruptcy.

In most cases the fundamental causes of the bad conditions which the Commissions are laboring to correct are closely related to overcapitalization or bad accounting methods, or both. Hence their most fundamental work is the prevention of overcapitalization and the insistence upon proper accounting methods. They have prepared and prescribed for the companies a system of accounts which establish uniformity among all corporations of the same class, which show plainly and correctly the source of all income and the purpose of every expenditure, which prevent the charging of items to wrong accounts, which assure the setting aside of proper amounts for depreciation and so insure the integrity of the capital, which prevent the taking of an undue amount from earnings and spending it upon extensions, and which prevent the payment of dividends until all other proper charges have been met. This insures a state of affairs as favorable to the legitimate investor as it is unfavorable to the speculator. The speculator wants a minimum of publicity. This system provides a maximum. The speculator wants an excessive dividend regardless of risk. The investor wants only such a dividend as is consistent with safety. While the speculator wants to sell his securities as soon as he can to advantage, the investor wants to hold his as long as he can to advantage. At every point their interests are opposed. The work of the Commissions is driving the speculator out of the field of public utilities. He may no longer with impunity speculate in common necessities at the common expense. There is no reason why the bonds of public service corporations of great cities should not be as safe as municipal bonds. In New York they will so become if the work of the Commissions is continued as now.

Last year the Coney Island and Brooklyn Railroad Company applied to the Public Service Commission for the First District for approval of an additional issue of bonds of a par value of $372,000, the proceeds to be used for improvements to the property. On investigation it was found that a considerable part of the funds were in fact wanted for mere replacements. That is, they were wanted for expenses which, under a proper method of accounting, should have been met out of earnings. No depreciation fund had been set aside, except to offset the most obvious wear and tear. A large item in the proposed expenditures was for the relaying of tracks. The old tracks were sixty-pound rails, the new ones were to be ninety-pound rails. Now the mere replacing of old rails by new ones would not add to the original value of the property, and so would not be an improvement. On the other hand, the replacing of sixty by ninety pound rails would be an improvement to the extent of the excess value of the heavier over the lighter rails. Accordingly, this excess value could properly be charged to capital account, securities issued against it, and the fixed charges of the Company correspondingly increased. After analyzing the whole proposed issue in this manner, the Commission authorized the issue of such bonds to the amount of $107,000 only. This was all that could be allowed without impairing the integrity of the Company's capital.

Last year the Bondholders' Committee holding the bonds issued under the first consolidated mortgage of the Third Avenue Railroad Company (one of the largest of the companies which had made up the Metropolitan System) applied to the Commission for approval of the issue of over $68,000,000 of securities under a plan of reorganization. Practically no evidence was produced regarding the value back of these securities. The Company was in the hands of a receiver and confessedly unable to pay interest on its bonded indebtedness, to say nothing of dividends on its stock. It was proposed, nevertheless, to increase the capitalization by about $15,000,000, of which only $6,500,000 was to be used to increase the value of the property. Under these circumstances the Commission was " unable to reach the

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conclusion that a company unable to pay fixed charges and dividends upon $58,560,000 of securities should be superseded by one having $73,516,800 of stocks and bonds." In summing up the reasons for denying this application the Commission stated:

"Such extreme overcapitalization would lead, as it has in the past, to inferior service and unwarranted exactions. The people of New York have too vivid evidence upon this point to forget its importance.

"The control of the corporation would pass from the stockholders to the bondholders, with little probability of its return for many years, if ever. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that the stockholders are to be called upon for $4,000,000.

"The value of the property to be acquired, as indicated by the market value of securities, is very much less than the amount of the securities proposed to be issued. Market value cannot be used, therefore, to justify the proposed issues.

"The reorganization plan involves the capitalization of taxes, unpaid interest, repairs, renewals, and other improper capital charges, which is unjustifiable and inexpedient."

The same applicants are now before the Commission with a second plan of reorganization, which involves the issue of about $14,000,000 less securities. In the meantime both the applicants and the Commission have made an exhaustive valuation of the tangible properties of the Company. Whatever the outcome of the present application, the decision of the Commission will be based upon a full knowledge of all the facts. The days for the capitalizing of sanguine hopes and golden dreams have gone.

As successor of the Rapid Transit Commission, more than half the time and nearly seventy per cent of the expenditures of the Public Service Commission for the First District go to the development of further rapid transit facilities for Greater New York. The work connected with the $100,000,000 Tri-Borough Subway, the contracts for which are about to be let, monumental as it is, may fittingly be here omitted, as it is quite distinct from the regulative work with which this article deals.

In their three years' work the New York Commissions have gone far in fulfilling their mission of bringing the public service companies back to the purpose for which they exist—the service of the public. Important as have been the tangible achievements of the work, the intangible have been greater. Managers of public service companies are beginning to realize that their business cannot genuinely prosper at the expense of the people whom they serve, be they stockholders or patrons. The people are beginning to realize that so long as the present organization of society shall exist they cannot permanently prosper at the expense of the corporations which provide them with daily necessities. The gradual infusion throughout the community of this spirit of mutual understanding and mutual forbearance between the public service companies and the public whom they serve is the greatest intangible achievement of the Public Service Commissions.

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THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY, IN EDUCATION, IN INDUSTRY, AND IN GOVERNMENT[1]

FOURTH PAPER

IN THE FAMILY—THE HEBREW IDEAL

THE Hebrew ideal of the relationship between man and woman, and of marriage and the family, growing out of that relationship, is found chiefly in three passages: the first chapter of Genesis, the second chapter of Genesis, and the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs.

In the first chapter of Genesis the writer declares that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them;" and that to them jointly he gave supremacy over the earth: "God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." He is not represented as giving authority to one over the other, of making the one for the other, of creating the one in his image more than the other is created in his image. The image of God, the supremacy over nature, is not in any man: it is not in any woman; it is in humanity, the man and woman, neither of whom completes the image of God, neither of whom is sovereign on the earth.

Both the American and the English poet have truly interpreted this Hebraic conception of the relationship of the sexes:

"Nor equal, nor unequal; each fulfills
Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,
The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-celled heart beating with one full stroke, Life."[2]

"As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman.
Though she bends him, she obeys him;
Though she draws him, yet she follows:
Useless each without the other."[3]

This is not the relationship of husband and wife. It is the relationship of man and woman. The two together make humanity. Man is not complete without the woman; woman is not complete without the man. Woman is no more made for man than man is made for woman. Woman is no more to be educated for man than man is to be educated for woman.

Nor do they duplicate each other. Their characteristics are not the same. Their function in society is not the same. Their education ought not to be the same. Man is not a woman in trousers; woman is not a man in petticoats. Neither is a model to be imitated by the other, neither is the standard by which the other is to be measured. A masculine woman and a feminine man are equally abhorrent to nature; they are abnormal specimens of the race. This truth, that man and woman do not duplicate but do complement each other, which Tennyson and Longfellow have put in poetry, Mr. Frederic Harrison has put in almost equally beautiful prose:

Who now wishes to propound the idle, silly question—which of the two is the superior type? For our part, we refuse to answer a question so utterly unmeaning. Is the brain superior to the heart, is a great poet superior to a great philosopher, is air superior to water, or any other childish conundrum of the kind? Affection is a stronger force in women's nature than in men's. Productive energy is a stronger force in men's nature than in women's. The one sex tends rather to compel, the other to influence; the one acts more directly, the other more indirectly; the mind of the one works in a more massive way, of the other in a more subtle and electric way. But to us it is the height of unreason and of presumption to say anything whatever as to superiority on one side or on the other. All that we can say is that where we need especially purity, unselfishness, versatility, and refinement, we look to women chiefly; where we need force, endurance, equanimity, and justice chiefly, we look to men.[1]

[1] These articles are based on and in part condensed from a series of lectures on "The Spirit of Democracy" delivered by the author on consecutive Sunday afternoons before the Brooklyn (New York) Institute in January and February, 1910.

[2] Alfred Tennyson, "The Princess."

[3] Henry W. Longfellow, "Hiawatha."

[1] Frederic Harrison, "Realities and Ideals," p. 91. In some details I should put the contrast differently. Thus, I think, in a certain type of endurance woman is superior to man.

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The first chapter of Genesis gives the Hebrew conception of manhood and womanhood, the second chapter of Genesis the Hebrew conception of marriage.

We have lost much out of our Bible by our unwise literalism, by insisting that there is no poetry, no fiction, no legend, that all is prosaic fact; that only Gradgrind could have written the Bible and only Gradgrind can interpret it. Let us read this second chapter of Genesis as we should read it if we found it in any other literature than the literature of the Hebrew people.

Man is in a garden, in the days of innocence, before sin, before temptation, before society exists, before cities are built or work is begun. He is lonely, this man in this garden, and the good God brings to him one animal after another for companionship. He is to christen and to name them. The horse comes saying, "I will bear your burdens." "Will you bear my sorrows with me?" "No! I cannot do that." The dog comes; "I will watch by your side." "If I am sick, will you nurse me back into life?" "No! I cannot do that." The cat comes; "I will lie in your lap and you shall caress me." "And will you caress me in turn?" "No! I cannot do that." The bird comes; "I will sing sweet songs to you." "Will you rejoice with me?" "No! I cannot do that."

The man turns from the animals whom he has christened and says to his Father, "None of these is a companion to me," and the good God says: "No, for you are not yet finished. You are only half made; you are only half a man; you have only half a life. Wait! See! Out of your very side I will take her who shall be your comrade. She shall bear your sorrows with you, and you shall bear hers. She shall give you strength to carry your burdens, and you shall carry hers. She shall watch by you in time of your sickness, and you shall watch by her. She shall sing softly and sweetly to you, and your heart shall feel the thrill of the heart that is like your own." And from that opening chapter all through this collection of sacred literature there is no hint of servitude or separation save as they appear as the outgrowth of selfishness and sin. The two are one in their creation, co-equal comrades. The two are one in their life, co-equal mates.

The third Hebrew ideal is contained in the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs:

A virtuous woman who can find?
For her price is far above rubies.
The heart of her husband trusteth in her,
And he shall have no lack of gain.
She doeth him good and not evil
All the days of her life.
She seeketh wool and flax,
And worketh willingly with her hands.
She is like the merchant-ships;
She bringeth her food from afar.
She riseth also while it is yet night,
And giveth meat to her household,
And their task to her maidens.
She considereth a field, and buyeth it:
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.
She girdeth her loins with strength,
And maketh strong her arms.
She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable:
Her lamp goeth not out by night.
She layeth her hands to the distaff,
And her hands hold the spindle.
She stretcheth out her hand to the poor;
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.
She is not afraid of the snow for her household:
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.
She maketh for herself carpets of tapestry;
Her clothing is fine linen and purple.

I venture to say that not in pagan literature, not in the ethics of Confucius, not in the Vedic hymns, not in the poetry of Greece or Rome, not in legend or story of Scandinavian tribes, is to be found such a picture of the dignity and glory and honorable service of woman.

She is no toy and no dependent idler. She has her work to do, and glories in it. She counts no honorable industry servile, works willingly with her hands. She is no narrow-minded provincial. Her vision stretches out over other lands. She knows what the world is doing, has some share in it; is like the merchant ships, and brings food both for mind and body from afar. She is not cottoned in the bed of idleness, but rises betimes for her work; never counts executive ability unwomanly; is a wise and efficient mistress of maidens. She has no notion that invalidism is interesting, that to be attractive she must be pale and bloodless. She girdeth her loins with strength, and her arms are strong. Her charity begins at home, but does not end

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there. Her sympathies reach out beyond her husband and her children. She is a wise almoner of charity, and not through contribution boxes and charitable organizations only. She does not shun contact with the lowly and the unfortunate. She stretches out her hand to the poor and the needy. She has not the notion that simplicity and ugliness are synonymous, that beauty in dress and furniture is sinful. She is not blind to the lessons of nature, which clothes this world in a great glory of form and color. Her household are clothed with scarlet, and her own clothing is fine linen and purple. She takes thought for the morrow, and therefore does not take anxiety for it. Because she is forethoughted she can laugh at the time to come. She does not confound innocence and ignorance, does not think it unwomanly to be well educated; she openeth her mouth with wisdom. Nor does she think to show her wisdom by the sharpness of her tongue. Nor is she a gossipmonger. In her tongue is the law of kindness. Her personal ambitions run not beyond her household. She has no longing for public place and public service. She seeks her coronation within the walls of her home, happy if her children rise up and call her blessed, and her husband praises her.

This ideal of creation, of marriage, of womanhood, derived from the Hebrew people, passed over into Europe together with the pagan ideal derived from Imperial Rome. Wherever paganism dominated, woman was dishonored and marriage was reduced to a commercial partnership. Wherever Christianity dominated, woman was glorified and marriage was treated as a sacrament. The Church honored woman. It put by the side of the Lord himself the Virgin Mother who bore him. The adoration of the Virgin was one of the messages of the Catholic Church. Wherever that adoration was offered, wherever that mother and child were painted, wherever the *Ave Maria* was played or sung, there womanhood and motherhood were exalted and adored. With this ideal of womanhood there went an ideal of marriage as a sacred sacrament binding husband and wife together in an indissoluble bond. And wherever these two went, there went also the idea of complete comradeship; for these three Hebrew ideals are really one in three, a sacred trinity of love: man and woman created one; man and woman created to be comrades; and man and woman united by marriage in an indissoluble bond.

For it is not merely the husbands that are to be comrades. The comradeship may be between husband and wife, or between brother and sister, or between father and daughter, or between friend and friend. It is man and woman who are made in the image of God; it is man and woman who are united in a sacred fellowship. There is no space here in which adequately to illustrate this comradeship which the Hebrew ideal puts before us. Life is the best interpreter of the Bible. From the book of life I select one single picture of this comradeship between brother and sister. Much has been made of what Charles Lamb did for Mary Lamb, and we have sometimes wondered at the patience of the brother in bearing with his ofttimes crazy sister. It came to me somewhat as a surprise when a friend called my attention to Charles Lamb's testimony of what that sister had been to him:

> I have every reason to suppose that this illness, like all the former ones, will be but temporary, but I cannot feel it so. Meanwhile she is dead to me, and I miss a prop. All my strength is gone, and I am like a fool, bereft of her co-operation. I dare not think lest I should think wrong, so used am I to look up to her in the least as in the biggest perplexity. To say all that I know of her would be more than I think anybody could believe or even understand; and when I hope to have her well again with me, it would be sinning against her feelings to go about to praise her, for I can conceal nothing I do from her. She is older, wiser, better than I, and all my wretched imperfections I cover to myself, by resolutely thinking on her goodness. She would share life, death, heaven and hell with me. She lives but for me. I know I have been wasting and teasing her life for five years incessantly with my cursed drinking and ways of going on. But even in this upbraiding of myself I am offending against her, for I know that she has clung to me for better, for worse; and if the balance has been against her hitherto, it was a noble trade.[1]

Many a brother, many a father, many a husband who have not the pen of

[1] Letter written to Dorothy Wordsworth by Charles Lamb when Mary Lamb was in the asylum, during one of her attacks of insanity. June 14, 1805. "Letters of Charles Lamb," edited by E. V. Lucas, letter 133.

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Charles Lamb have had his experience, and bear silent witness to the service which has been rendered to them by the inspiring presence of a sister, a daughter, or a wife.

Thus in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were in Europe these two contrasted streams of influence, one coming from paganism through Imperial Rome, the other coming from the Hebrew race through the Christian Church. Both were imported into America, the pagan idea from deistical France, the Christian idea from Puritan England. Rousseau's interpretation of the pagan ideal I quoted last week. J. R. Green has well interpreted the Puritan ideal:

> Home, as we conceive it now, was the creation of the Puritan. Wife and child rose from mere dependents on the will of husband or father, as husband and father saw in them saints like himself, souls hallowed by the touch of a divine Spirit and called with a divine calling like his own. The sense of spiritual fellowship gave a new tenderness and refinement to the common family affections. "He was as kind a father," says a Puritan wife of her husband, "as dear a brother, as good a master, as faithful a friend as the world had." The willful and lawless passion of the Renascence made way for a manly purity. Neither in youth nor riper years could the most fair or enticing woman draw him into unnecessary familiarity or dalliance. Wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure and holy and unblamable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandal nor temptation.[1]

It is to this Hebraic, Christian, Puritan influence that we owe the modern idea of woman's education; that she is to be educated, not as Rousseau had said, to make the lives of men agreeable and pleasant, but for God and for herself. In 1819 Miss Willard opened what I believe was the first school for the really higher education of women in this country. In 1837 Mount Holyoke followed under Mary Lyon. In 1861 Vassar College was founded; then, following, Smith and Wellesley and Bryn Mawr. All these were in the conception and ideal of their founders distinctly Christian institutions. Meanwhile Western colleges were opening their doors to women, and secondary schools for girls enlarged their curricula and raised their standards, until to-day, after a century of education, it may fairly be said that the educational facilities for woman in this country are, considering the length of time they have been established, approximately as good as the educational facilities for man. The same methods of study are open to her as to her brother in the preparatory schools. She is admitted to the same high schools, and to a large extent the same higher education is furnished to both in the colleges.

The new education has changed the old paganism, but has not converted it. The struggle between the pagan and the Christian conceptions of woman, marriage, and the family continues on our soil, though in a new form. Paganism no longer affirms that woman was made for man, or that she is to be educated to make life agreeable and pleasant for him, and that she is to be his servant or his toy. But loud voices are calling on her to become his competitor; to join in the struggle of life, not with him, but against him. A little child of my acquaintance, who had heard, more intelligently than any one had imagined, the woman question discussed in the family circle, asked his governess one day, when they were gathering wild flowers, whether she preferred Dutchman's Breeches or Ladies' Slippers. That is the Woman Question in a sentence. Does she wish to be a woman or a modified man?

The new paganism assures woman that the difference of sex is but an incident in life; that, with the same education as man, she has become or is becoming the same kind of being, endowed with the same characteristics, called to the same service, intended to fulfill the same social function; that there is no more difference between man and woman than there is between individuals in either sex; that she is to be not man's complement but his duplicate, not his comrade but his competitor, in the market-place, the factory, the court-room, and on the hustings; that as man is, woman is—his toil her toil, his task her task, his place her place; that marriage is only a partnership between the two, to be continued while it proves mutually agreeable; that children are a painful inconvenience to be avoided if possible, and, when inevitable, discarded as soon as may be. This is what pagan democracy demands of woman and for woman.

[1] J. R. Green, "History of England," Vol. III, p. 19.

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Hebraic, Puritan, Christian democracy, in its interpretation of life and in its demands both on woman and for woman, is the antithesis of the modern paganism. There is no accident of sex. Man and woman are not cast in the same mold, created for the same function, nor called to the same service. They are created to be comrades, not competitors; for co-operation, not for rivalry. She is not made for him more than he is made for her; she is not to be educated for him more than he is to be educated for her. They are made for each other. Marriage is not a partnership; it is not a civil contract; it is a divine order; indissoluble save for the one disloyalty which does by necessity destroy the family. The home is the basic organization on which both Church and State are founded, for which both Church and State exist. The rearing and training of children is the end of life, which alone gives it significance. To protect from enemies while this work of rearing and training children is carried on is the function of government. To provide food and shelter for the family while this rearing and training of children is carried on is the function of the material industries. To supplement the family in this rearing and training of children is the function of the school and the church. In this work of rearing and training children woman is supreme, made so by her divine equipment, and in it protected and provided for by her mate. Neither master and servant nor competitors and rivals, but comrades, neither independent of the other, neither complete without the other, each made for the other, are man and woman in the world's great work, which is the creation of children of God.

NAPOLEON JONES

BY E. L. PEARSON

"AN' then the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte rode up to me on his white hoss, an' he says, 'Bring out yer guns!' an' so I brought 'em out!"

We stared at each other. This was worth hearing! Why had we never heard it before? For weeks we had played about the pond, messed and dabbled along its edges, run up and down the bankings which surrounded it, angled for goldfish, and plotted to pick the pond-lilies when the policeman should be away long enough. Every day we had seen this old man sitting on a bench underneath the big elm. He spent all the morning there and part of the afternoon, chewing tobacco vigorously and whittling small sticks.

This afternoon he had called Ed Mason to him, and presented Ed with a little musket whittled out of soft pine. Jimmy Toppan and I came and hung around to see if there were any more muskets to be distributed. But when we arrived, the old fellow pointed at Ed with his jackknife and addressed us.

"He wants to know if I ever was in a battle!"

Evidently the question had been an absurd one. We gathered this from the tone of derision with which it was repeated, and we promptly showed our appreciation of its absurdity by grinning. We marveled at Ed's obtuseness. Not to recognize this round-faced old man in the dark-blue suit as the very incarnation of war could only be downright stupidity.

"Was I ever in a battle?" he inquired with deliberate sarcasm. "Well, son, I don't know what *you* call a battle, but what do you think of a hundred an' thirty guns on one hill an' eighty guns on another hill, all blazing away at each other like Sancho?"

We thought well of it. It seemed to us a very respectable battle. But Ed Mason was destined to put his foot in it again. He held up the little pine musket. "Guns like this?" he queried.

The old fellow looked at Ed for a moment. Then he turned his gaze toward Jimmy and me and shook his head sorrowfully. "No, not guns like

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that. Them's what the infantry has. A hundred an' thirty of them against eighty wouldn't be no battle. 'Twould be a squeamish. An' a darned small one at that. I mean *guns*. Don't you know what guns be?"

Jimmy Toppan spoke. "Oh, I know! Cannons. Like the one they fired Fourth of July morning down at the foot of River Street."

"Yes, that's the kind, I guess. I warn't there. Dave Hunt was doing that. I see in the paper they called him 'Gunner David Hunt.' I nearly bust over that. 'Gunner David Hunt'!"

He rocked forward and back on the bench, chuckling and repeating, "*Gunner* David Hunt!" from time to time. "Why, where do you think he was durin' the whole war?"

We could not imagine.

"Down in Boston Harbor—that's where he was. Why, he never smelled powder in his life!"

This seemed extraordinary to me. I had seen "Gunner David Hunt" on the Fourth of July morning in question—it was now only a week since that holiday—and if he hadn't smelled powder that morning, he must have been suffering with a fearful cold. I had smelled it distinctly, even kept, as I was, at a discreet distance. For Mr. Hunt, working with the greatest activity in the midst of clouds of smoke, not to have detected the odor struck me as amazing. I was incautious enough to point out my impressions to the old fellow in blue.

He rewarded me with another such look of scorn as that with which he greeted Ed's mistake about the guns.

"He never smelled powder, I tell yer. That means he never heard a shot fired in anger. He may have fired some of them guns down in that fort in Boston Harbor at a hogshead floatin' in the water jus' for practice. But he never stood up against the enemy an' give 'em back shot for shot. An' the paper called him '*Gunner* Hunt'! Oh, my Chris'mas!"

He rocked forward and back again, and laughed long and heartily. As it seemed to be the proper thing to do, all three of us laughed, as well as we could, over the presumption of Mr. Hunt.

Then the soldier became serious. He took his walking-stick, held it out at arm's length, and pointed across the pond.

"Do you see that Court-House over there?"

As it was the most prominent object in the landscape, and hardly one hundred yards distant, we instantly admitted that we did see it.

"An' do you see George Washin'ton over to the right?"

Yes; George Washington was plainly visible. There he stood, on his pedestal, with his arm stretched out at his side, as if to smack any small boy who walked on the grass.

"Well, over beyond George Washin'ton was where the enemy's batteries lay—they stretched from there up to Joe Peabody's house."

"When was this?"

We all spoke at once, and in great excitement. *Enemy's batteries* on Elm Street!

The old man looked at us solemnly, and chewed with great deliberation.

"That's to give you an idea how they lay on the field. This is on a small scale, you see. Our guns were right along this bank, from here to the fourth tree. No, the fifth. And that graveyard back there," he turned around and pointed, "was 'bout in the same position, only it run down nearer where we are now. Down there where the pond is was near a mile of open—wheat-fields and so on. Everything was mighty quiet 'bout the middle of the morning, 'cos we'd been fightin' for two days, you see. We could see the rebels plain enough, an' knew they was up to some deviltry. But we knew the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had his eye on 'em all right."

Napoleon Bonaparte! Our eyes opened at this. "Was Napoleon Bonaparte in this battle?" I asked.

"*Was* he?" returned the soldier, with great energy. "I guess he come pretty near bein'. He was in command of the whole army. Who did yer think was, excep' him?"

I had not given the matter much thought. But I replied weakly that I supposed Napoleon had lived in France.

"You did? Well, you got that out of a book, I s'pose?"

I admitted, with some embarrassment, that I did get it from a book.

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"I thought so. Well, if you're so smart with your books, why don't you tell this instead of me? P'r'aps you was in this battle, hey?"

My face became uncomfortably warm. I could not think of anything to say. After waiting a little, the soldier continued.

"If this young feller, that knows so all-fired much, ain't goin' to tell us how this battle was fought, I might as well go on. As I says before, we could see their guns, an' we could see the rebels movin' about 'round 'em. Some of their guns was in a little patch of woods, over where that team is standin' now. It kep' on quiet for more'n two hours—no one firin' a shot. Then we see the rebels was gettin' ready. They moved some of their batteries. An' then the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte rode up to me on his white hoss, an' he says, 'Bring out yer guns!' An' so I brought 'em out!"

My doubts vanished. That white horse was conclusive. Ed Mason spoke in an awed voice: "What did you say?"

"What did I say? I says, 'All right, yer Majesty.' An' I fetched the guns round to the northwestward."

"What did Napoleon do then?" asked Ed.

"What did he do? He just sat there on his white hoss an' he watched to see if we did it all right. An' we lined 'em up smart an' unlimbered, an' back went the hosses, an' there we was, all ready in no time. The Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte he says: 'First-rate, boys; you did that slick as grease!'

"An' then the rebels let off two guns for a signal, an' then their whole hundred an' thirty began to once, an' so did our eighty. An' that kep' up for an hour."

"Did any of their shots hit you?" inquired Jimmy.

"Not to speak of. They fired too high. Their shells went plumb over our heads, an' over the infantry, who was lyin' on the ground behind us, an' bust in the cemetary. Some of the gravestones was broke. Some of our men was killed when the caissons blew up."

We had no idea what caissons were; but they blew up—that was enough for us.

"Then the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte ordered us to cease firin', one battery at a time. That was where he was foxy. He wanted to make the rebels think our guns had been dismounted, or that we was out of ammunition, so's they would charge. And he fooled 'em, sure enough, for pretty soon they did charge!"

He paused, and bit off some more tobacco, while we jumped up and down with excitement. Then he pointed again with his cane.

"Do you see them three trees to the left of the white house? Well, bearin' a little to the right of them is a clump of bushes. There was some woods at that p'int of the enemy's position, an' they come outer them. We could see 'em plain as day, a long line of infantry, an' the officers on hosses. Some of 'em was in gray uniforms, but not all. We could see their flags, an' the sun shinin' on the bayonets. First one long line come, an' then another, an' then another. There was close to fifteen thousand of 'em—more than all the folks in this town!"

We followed his gaze across the pond, across the park, to that clump of bushes. At any moment we expected to see the gray-clad lines break out from behind them and start toward us with loud yells. But we had forgotten how securely we were planted behind the old man's batteries.

"It didn't take us a minute to open on 'em. We had our guns trained in no time, an' we made it mighty hot for 'em as they come across that valley. One bunch come right for my guns, but we had loaded with grape an' we just blew 'em to smithereens. They turned round, what was left of 'em, an' run back like Jesse. There was a rebel general on a brown hoss, an' his hoss went down, an' we nearly got *him*."

He stopped. After waiting a moment, we all burst out, "What happened then?"

"Why, nothin'. The battle was over. The rebels had skedaddled. But the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, he called me 'round to his tent that night, an' he give me this cane."

"What, *that* one?"

"This one. He says, says he: 'I like the way you worked your guns to-day, an' I want you to keep this stick to remember me by. I cut it myself.'"

He let each boy of us take the stick in his hand and examine it reverently. It was a cane of some brown wood, with a round knob at the top, made of ivory

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or bone. Then he took a fat silver watch out of his pocket, and looked at that.

"It's pretty nigh supper-time, an' I'm goin' along."

He rose from the bench and walked slowly away, limping slightly and leaning on the cane—the cane that Napoleon had given him!

We walked toward our homes, maintaining a profound silence. On the other side of the pond we met Sam Noyes, who was catching hornpouts. He addressed us derisively.

"Was that old Napoleon Jones you were talking with? He been giving you some of his yarns? My father says he's cracked. He was in the Civil War, but some one got him all worked up about Napoleon, till he thinks he has seen him."

If Sam had hit each one of us in the face with a wet hornpout the effect would have been more agreeable. We encountered a realist for the first time when we met Sam that afternoon. We were walking through a golden haze of romance, when Sam suddenly drew this leaden-gray cloud across the sky.

"You make me sick!" declared Ed Mason; "didn't he show us the very cane that Napoleon gave him?"

"Of course he did!" replied Jimmy Toppan. And "Of course he did!" I chimed in.

So we fell on Sam Noyes, dragged him down on the turf, and stuffed grass and clover down the back of his neck until he yelled, "I take it all back!"

Then we let him up.

A BENEFICENT REVOLUTION

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS

ONE of the most astounding and beneficent of revolutions is that which has taken place in Turkey—a revolution almost unequaled in the history of men for the skill and moderation with which it was effected, and for the enormous change that it produced in the country. France, by her Revolution, jumped fifty years—from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of modernism; but Turkey at one amazing bound leaped over four centuries, and changed her government, and with it her civilization, from sixteenth-century to twentieth-century form. And this took place apparently in a few days in July, 1908.

When I went to live in Constantinople about ten years ago, Turkey was under the so-called old régime. Of the difficulties and horrors and absurdities of that régime it is hard for any one who has not lived under it to have an adequate conception. There was a blight over everything. Even we foreigners, protected by extra-territoriality, were constantly followed by spies and were limited in our movements. In the American colleges we were forced to get text-books by the foreign post, because so many of them were forbidden entrance to the city; our public lecturers were interfered with, our every movement was watched, and Turkish girls were forbidden to come to a school where Western ideas were taught. The only Moslem girls who received our education were those who could slip into the schools unwatched, or those, a very few, who practically defied the Government and ran the risk of consequences. The Sultan, suspicious of everything and everybody, especially feared subversive Western ideas; and of the Western thought he recognized the American as the most dynamic.

If we foreigners were oppressed, what was the condition of the Turkish subject? I will recount two little incidents that came under my own observation, which will illustrate the bitter tyranny.

One day in June, 1908, a Turkish youth went to call on a Levantine lady, and appeared so pale and distraught that she inquired the cause of his distress. He said that several days previous he had gone to spend the night with a friend who lived near the palace—Yildiz—of the

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Sultan. As the two young men were leaning from an upper window about midnight, they heard the sound of wheels coming down the palace road, and, as the carriage drew near, from the depths they heard screams, "Help! help! I am murdered!" The guest rushed to the door to go down and save the lady, but his host, seizing his arm, cried: "Fool, you'll do no good; you'll only destroy us too. We often hear such cries. Be still." The youth desisted, but for many nights his sleep was haunted by the sound of wheels and a woman's desperate shriek.

I went to Palestine in the summer of 1908, and as I was starting a Turkish friend said to me: "I have a sister in Jerusalem. Won't you go see her and take a letter from me?" I consented, but she said: "If you don't find her, destroy the letter; and don't send it by post, for my brother-in-law is an exile and I dare not communicate with him openly." When I asked why he was exiled, she said that his brother had turned on a spy who was dogging him, and had killed him, and in consequence all of the brother's family and relatives were sent into exile, as probably being dangerous also. The man in Jerusalem had always been a law-abiding citizen, but because of his brother he was suspected too.

Despite my knowledge of how people avoid a suspected man, I fancied I could easily find the family in Jerusalem, for he was a physician, and the city is too small to lose a prominent man easily. But I had not counted on the dread every one had of being involved in a suspicion. I learned at what hospital the doctor was, but I could not by any means within my power learn his house address. My diplomatic English host tried to find it for me, but, when talking with his Moslem friends, the instant he mentioned the doctor lips were tight closed and suspicious glances shot at him. Even the Englishman asked me if, in the letter I had, the place where I was stopping was mentioned, for he was also afraid of being involved. So I never saw my friend's sister nor gave her the letter. She is now back in her home, free at last from the putrid breath of suspicion that had blown on her for a decade, and had made her old and shriveled.

During the time that I was in Turkey it seemed as if every year got worse than the previous one. People would say, "It cannot get any worse," or "His Majesty is very sick," but his Majesty got well again, and the tyranny grew steadily more oppressive. During the year 1908 one by one the privileges of the city had been cut off from both inhabitants and tourists, and the sensation was one of tightness about to burst. Every one was listless and despairing, and the atmosphere was heavy with restraint. Such was the condition of Turkey when I went to Palestine early in July.

One day, July 26, I think, when I was in a Persian house in Haifa, the father of the household came in and asked me, "Do you know anything about a Constitution granted by the Sultan?" I answered easily, "Oh, that is an old story, and means nothing." For when Abdul Hamid came to the throne, thirty-three years before, he had accepted the Constitution of Midhat Pasha, and had reaffirmed it every year since, although it was only a paper mockery. No, he replied, this was something quite new, and most generous of the Sultan; the governor of the town had just been telegraphed to from Constantinople. We were highly excited, and, when I returned to the hotel, I hastened to Cook's office to make inquiries. But they had heard nothing. We had been two days in Damascus when the news burst on the city, and caused a wild excitement. The six days we were there were given to rejoicings: fireworks and speeches in the public gardens, sword-dances and pistol-firing and gay decorations in the extensive bazaars; the streets were full of chattering, laughing, shouting people.

One of the most astounding features of the celebration to me was that people were not afraid to talk. When one of my American companions asked a man in the bazaars about the Revolution, I cried, "Oh, hush, hush! we never speak of politics on the street." I could not realize that the ban so long on our tongues was actually removed. For years I had been sharply disciplined not to use the names of the Sultan and his palace on the street, nor even to say "Turk," "Armenian," "Greek;" we called them "T's," "A's," "G's." And in writing

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college reports for the papers I might not mention liberty or freedom, or assassination, or despotism; nor even write "knife" or "shears" or "star," because Yildiz, the name of Abdul Hamid's palace, means "star," and any reference to it might be a cover for hidden fire. But suddenly all was changed. While in Damascus I went with a Turkish gentleman to call on a Syrian family. I asked the wife if she were interested in the Revolution. Her husband answered for her: "Not only the women, but the children also, are interested, and we dare to say so. Here is my friend," pointing to the Turk, "he has been afraid to speak to me, and I have been afraid to speak to him, and every one has been afraid of every one else, but now, now we can speak!"

The telegrams announcing the Constitution also stated that all political prisoners and exiles were immediately freed. Now, in Damascus the most noted political exile was Marshal Fuad Pasha, the hero of the last Russo-Turkish war, and at one time high in Imperial favor. But, like many another, he had suddenly fallen from favor and been exiled. Here in Damascus, in a little house, the old general had been imprisoned seven years, eating out his heart and growing white. At the first word of the Revolution he was taken from his prison and made the center of Damascus rejoicing. When we went down to Beirut, Fuad Pasha was in the train with us, and at every station crowds met him, and, raising him on their shoulders, called for a speech, and then cried a strange Arabic word—strange because for a generation it had been heard on no man's tongue, and could be found in no Turkish or Arabic dictionary—"*Hurriet*" (to give the Turkish form), or Freedom! When he reached Beirut, the horses were taken from his carriage and men dragged it up the steep hill of the city. He is said to have refused to return to Constantinople until he should be completely reinstated and his sword and medals should be returned to him. This done, he returned as a conqueror.

Fuad Pasha was but one of the many political exiles who, during this month, were making their way back to their homes, but the immense rejoicings were clouded by the tears for those who never returned; for hundreds had been sent to a farther exile, and their waiting families, who still hoped after a silence of years, waited in vain. And there were some poor exiles who returned to empty homes, and might be seen wandering the streets with anguished looks, searching for the faces that would never greet them again. Among the exiles who returned to Constantinople, one of the best beloved was Ismirlian, the venerable Armenian Patriarch. He came by ship, and crowds of people went in boats out into the Marmora to meet him.

When he came into that part of the sea whence the city can be seen lying before one, he knelt in the vessel and said, "Let us pray for the souls of our dead over their tombs!" The people looked about them in surprise. hWere were the tombs? He said, "Below us, in the Marmora, is the grave of thousands of our brethren; let us pray for their souls." And the people knelt, and with streaming eyes prayed for the victims of tyranny.

The thrilling story of the formation of the Young Turk party, of the patriots who, disguised as beggars and teachers, wandered over the country teaching the people to hate tyranny and be ready to throw off the yoke, of the sudden breaking of the bonds of tyranny in Salonica, and the dramatic scene in Yildiz when the Sultan found himself given the choice between death, abdication, and a Constitution—this story of magnanimity, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and splendid organization I cannot tell here, for it does not lie within the limits of my paper.

July 24 is now to be grouped with those other great days, July 4 and July 14, for on that day Turkey got the freedom that we Americans celebrate every 4th of July, and the French every 14th.

How can I describe to you the weeks that followed that great day? I have never before lived through such national excitement and joy. The "Spectator's" name for it, the "Honeymoon period of Turkish history," is most appropriate. Prisoners were freed and exiles returned; bands of people went to meet them with tears and rejoicings. All racial and religious enmity seemed set aside; the priest

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and the *mollah* embraced in the streets, the Turks of Constantinople went with the Armenians to pray over the graves of the victims of the old régime. Brigands came out of the hills, and were as lambs in the cities. For a while there seemed no need of law, and little administration of it. We who traveled were not asked for our passports nor examined at the customs. Spies fled, or, if they preferred, remained in their homes, but out of a job. The worst of the palace *camarilla* found the city too hot for them, and one, Fehim Pasha, after a life of such injury to the property, life, and honor of his victims as can hardly be believed, would even then have been allowed to flee, but he insulted a would-be savior, and was torn to pieces by a mob. There was no bloodshed, no recrimination, no outspoken criticism of him who still remained on the throne; only rejoicing and love for one another. Some one described it to me as a "millennial anarchy." And how people talked of the things they had so long been silent about! The parks of the cities were filled with speechmakers and excitement, and everywhere troupes of amateurs presented a popular play called "Fatherland," which closed with the entrance on the stage of the Macedonian army.

Of course there were some license and some curious misconceptions of liberty—a strike or two, several mutinies in schools, and some crimes committed, largely by prisoners let out from the prisons with the politicals. But, on the whole, it was a period of liberty, fraternity, and equality such as seldom reigns on the earth.

Those three words the Ottomans took from the French for their motto, but they added to them one more which expressed a further evolution, and was probably suggested to them by the great lack of the quality in the old régime—*Justice*. Banners and red papers bearing these four soul-stirring words were waved everywhere throughout the city, and the country so long red with the blood of the oppressed people at last shone red with the glow of liberty—Turkey was free.

One of the most interesting immediate developments of this freedom was the mushroom growth of the press. Under the old régime there had been very few newspapers, and those were so sharply censored that it was impossible to get any news from them. Suddenly a horde of journals sprang into existence. Some forty were started in Constantinople alone in a few weeks. The best humorous paper was called "Kalem," or "The Pen," and excellently reflected the state of mind of the public—sane, often amused, devoid of rancor, always hopeful. One day it had two pictures of the passengers on a Bosphorus steamer, and the legend, "Before the Revolution we did not talk to one another because we were afraid and bored." "Since the Revolution we do not talk to one another because we are all occupied in reading." This was indeed true. There were no more aimless, idle people in Constantinople; every one spent all his spare time in reading the newspapers. And what reading!—full of projects, reforms, and hopes, and grand changes to take place—all in the future, of course, and many impracticable, but who dared say anything was impossible after such a miracle as Turkey's freedom? One was living in the youth of the world, and it was great! There were not enough ink and paper for all the words people rushed to print in their joy. One day the journals were printed on brown paper, and poor printing was the rule. But who cared whether the papers were legible or not? The great thing was to be able to think and speak, and even publish one's thoughts. Two papers, "Shurai Umet" and "Tanine," or the "Echo," were the special organs of the Committee.

This luxury of self-expression was enjoyed even by the women; several of them wrote regularly or occasionally for the papers, and one or two especial women's journals were published. Perhaps the best of these women writers was Halideh Salih, a graduate of the American College for Girls in Constantinople, and the only Moslem woman holding a college degree. Her first article was an impassioned prose poem called "Othman's Address to the Third Army Corps." Othman was the founder of the Othman or Ottoman Empire, and the Third Army Corps was the Macedonian army that, under its great leader, had forced the Constitution on the Sultan. This gave her reputation at once, and she took a regular position on the staff of "Tanine," whence her articles, con-

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spicuous for both sane reasonableness and high enthusiasm, exerted wide influence. She wrote careful, intelligent articles on such subjects as women's education and curricula for new schools; she wrote burning essays on the griefs of the Cretan Moslems, and later on the cruel massacres of the Armenians near Adana; she wrote historical sketches of women who have swayed Turkish rule and rulers; and the people read eagerly all she wrote, and called for more. Her old manuscripts were gathered into volumes, and she was asked to contribute to seven journals and magazines. Her husband, an able Professor of Physics in the so-called Turkish University, was put on the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the avowed idea that he would speak not only for himself but also for his intellectual wife.

In the first weeks after the Constitution the Turkish women flocked to hear the speeches and see the patriotic plays, and even threw back their veils. This aroused annoyance in the Moslem priests, and the sensible women immediately resumed their veils. As Halideh Hanum wrote, "As a fact, no reasonable Turkish woman asks to unveil. All that such women ask for is a liberal education, and a right to accompany their husbands, and to become fit educators for the future generation."

Of course the coming of freedom to Turkey aroused in Moslem women a great desire for a fuller intellectual life. Clubs started up all over Constantinople, and the ignorance and helplessness of so many of the women, combined with their eager desire for culture, was pitiful. Women petitioned to be allowed to study nursing and art in the hospitals and schools, and received favorable responses from those in authority.

Both men and women, but especially the latter, are now free to gain an education. Of late Turks have flocked into the European and Armenian schools, into which the tyrannous Government so long refused their entrance. The year before the Revolution there were three Moslem students who succeeded in eluding governmental interference, and studied in the American College for Girls. The year following the Revolution we had sixteen Moslem students and an extension department for Turkish women, and the next year the Young Turk Government sent us five students at State expense, and the College, as well as the other American schools in the city, was crowded with applicants for a Western education. The Government is also taking up plans for Turkish schools for girls, whom it recognizes as greatly needing education.

The counter-revolution of April, 1909, stopped progress for a while, but as the cause of constitutionalism and liberty triumphed, the wheels of progress are again in motion.

I have often been asked what the Ottomans gained by the Revolution—if they had not merely substituted the despotism of a committee for the despotism of a Sultan, and if any progress is possible to them? I cannot speak for the future, I can only hope for that; but I saw what Turkey's freedom meant to her in the months following the Revolution—how she rejoiced over the freedom of the press, the freedom from the ever-dogging spy, the sense that life and honor and property were no longer in the hands of the villain who was strongest; in the chance to develop the material resources of the country and carry on business unhampered by a suspicious government, and to reap one's harvest for one's self, not for the tax-gatherer or the *bashi-bazouk*, to be able to move about one's country and to see the countries of strangers, to come into contact with Western progress, to know what the world was doing and have a share in it—in brief, the chance to grow and live.

I will close with a part of a composition written by an Armenian student of the American College for Girls, giving her notion of what the Turkish Revolution meant:

"The 24th of July is written in golden letters in all the memories of the Ottomans. This is the date of our coming out of our prisons. I say 'prison' because in reality we were imprisoned in the city of Constantinople. We could not take a step out of the country. Now the doors of our prison are wide open, with the hope never to shut again. I wonder if many of us knew anything about freedom. Even if we knew, we feared to mention it, to think of it. Two years ago,

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when I was a preparatory student, we had to learn by heart in the English class Byron's beautiful poem of 'Love of Country.' In class, each student recited in her turn. I prayed so fervently that my turn might pass over because I was so ashamed to recite it. How could I recite it? It was all against me. It did not apply to one who had no country to love. My native country is Constantinople, but they have not given me the right to love it. While now I have one, Byron's 'Love of Country' is dearer to me. I can recite it with my full voice, it sounds so sweet."

THE NEW BOOKS

"Ancient and Modern Imperialism," by the Earl of Cromer, strikingly illustrates by its literary contents the contrast between English and American statesmen. It would not be easy to recall any American now in active political life, neither do we think of any one in the history of the past, who would or could duplicate in his writings the results of so broad a scholarship. Lord Cromer traces the history of Imperialism from its early manifestations in Greece and Rome down to the present day. In elaborate foot-notes he refers to a great variety of classical and modern authorities. His quotations from ancient authorities are in original Greek and Latin, and it is evident from the intimate connection of these notes with the text that they are not the additions of a scribe or secretary. Its familiarity with the history of Imperialism gives to this little book of less than one hundred and fifty pages a historical background which may almost be said to constitute its chief value. It is difficult for us, with our point of view, to see how any one can rise from the reading of this book—which he may easily get through in an hour—without the conviction that history confirms the doctrine that a just Imperialism is the necessary path to liberty, as a strong and just government in the family is a necessary preparation for the child to become a self-governing man when he reaches his maturity. We, at all events, heartily agree with Lord Cromer's conclusion that for England "to abandon India would in truth lead to the most frightful anarchy," and, in our judgment, if America were to leave the Philippines the results to the people of the archipelago would be scarcely less disastrous. It is also difficult for us to see how any one can read this little volume without perceiving that the so-called Imperialism of England and America to-day is, in its essential spirit and its animating purpose, radically different from the Imperialism of ancient Rome. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 90 cents.)

As a distinctive people the American Indians are fast disappearing. The Indian policy of the United States Government will result in the ultimate absorption of the Indians into American civilization. Whatever, therefore, they have that is distinctive in art must be seized upon now, or it will go the way of its creators. Two books have recently appeared in which are gathered some of the artistic creations of the Indians. One, prepared by Mr. C. Hart Merriam, contains Indian folk tales; the other, prepared by Mr. Frederick R. Burton, contains Indian folk music. Each book is virtually confined to the product of Indians of but one stock: Mr. Merriam's with that of the Mewan Indians, whose habitat was in what is now California, and Mr. Burton's with that of the Ojibways. It is an interesting fact, stated by Mr. Burton, that between the fifty-eight Indian languages there are no common roots, as there are, for instance, between English and German. Abenaki and Ojibway have a family resemblance; but there is no likeness between, for example, the Ojibway and the Sioux languages. This difference in tongue is also accompanied by a difference in other respects. Mr. Merriam's book, which is entitled "The Dawn of the World: Weird Tales of the Mewan Indians" (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, $3.50), consists of legends which he has taken down from the lips of Indians belonging to a group of tribes which have been little studied; indeed, since these tales have been collected some of these tribes have become extinct. One legend tells how light was obtained. The hero, A-hā'-le the Coyote-man, touched the Morning and it growled; then he caught hold of it and brought it to his people. Here is the sort of stuff out of which ethnologists make many books, and over which they engage in warm controversies. The tales are of great value not only as sources for the study of primitive peoples, but also as remnants of primitive art. Mr. Merriam, who is Chief of the United States Biological Survey, has, in an introduction, explained some of the Indian conceptions of nature and of man, and has supplied other information in notes, lists, a bibliography, and an index. The book is printed handsomely on heavy paper, and is supplied with fine illustrations, most of them from paintings by E. W. Deming. The other volume bears the title "American Primitive Music: With Especial Attention to the Songs of the Ojibways." (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $5.) The author, whose recent

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death at an early age has meant a loss to music in America, not only studied records made by others, but went among the Ojibways and took down their songs in notation. Incidentally he studied also the music of other tribes. He has therefore considered in a measure the whole field of Indian music. He tested Indian singers by the pianoforte. He persuaded Indian singers to explain matters to him. He watched Indian ceremonies. As a consequence, he has gathered facts regarding Ojibway music that are of great interest, not merely ethnologically but also musically. Indeed, what he says about the scales used by the Ojibways, the apparent double tonality of many Ojibway songs, and the nature of rhythm as exemplified in Ojibway singing has a bearing upon all music. Mr. Burton does not encourage the belief that the curiosities of Indian rhythm, for instance, indicate that the Indian had developed a sense of rhythm that had not been acquired by the white man. Several people, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Miss Natalie Curtis, Mr. B. I. Gilman, Dr. Franz Boas, and others have studied Indian music; and several, Mr. Arthur Farwell, Mr. Harvey Worthington Loomis, Mr. Carlos Troyer, Mr. C. W. Cadman, and, best known of all, the lamented MacDowell, have used Indian music as thematic material for compositions. Mr. Burton belonged to both groups; he was both student of Indian song and composer of music with Indian themes. His play "Strongheart" was a product of his interest in the Indian; so was his incidental music to "Hiawatha." As those were the work of the playwright and composer, so this book is the work of the student. It is worth the study not only of those who are interested in the Indian, but also of those who are interested in the theory of music.

The seventh volume of "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge" is made specially attractive by its large number of important and copiously treated subjects—*e. g.*, Luther and Lutherans, Marriage, the Mass, Methodists, Missions, Mohammed and Mohammedanism. The biographical articles comprised in the series of volumes taken together would make a good volume of "Who's Who" in both the present and the past. It is a question, however, if too much space is not occasionally given to rather useless knowledge. Ten pages for an elaborate account of the Monophysites and Monothelites, sixth and seventh century heretics, seems a prodigal allowance. The limitations of German orthodoxy are conspicuous in the important subject of the Lord's Supper. In the eighteen pages given to this, occupied mainly with its historical, doctrinal, and liturgical aspects, a single paragraph is all that deals with its "significance for humanity." This, as in the orthodox confessions, is made mostly retrospective, as a fellowship of the participant with Christ in his sacrificial death and its resulting benefits to believers. This limited mode of apprehending the Lord's Supper is the weak point of modern Christianity. It ignores the present significance of the Lord's Supper as representing the fellowship with Christ in his sacrificial life, to which it pledges the participant. It ignores also its prospective significance, as the sacramental pledge of eternal life, grounded in the promise of fellowship beyond the grave, with which in instituting the Supper the Lord comforted his friends on the eve of his death. For the invigoration of Christian life the narrow and partial conception of this central institution of the Church which the orthodox confessions present needs rounding out into the full reality of the Biblical teaching. (Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. $5.)

Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell, whom the readers of The Outlook know as the surgeon, mariner, and, as it were, social engineer of the whole of Labrador, a missionary who has given to that title the widest meaning, is the chief author of a book entitled "Labrador: The Country and the People." Dr. Grenfell's contributions are chiefly with regard to the people. What he has to say about reindeer and dogs concerns, after all, principally the people whom they serve. This is also largely true of what he says about fish and the ocean mammal. It was Dr. Grenfell, by the way, who introduced reindeer into Alaska, and who is therefore the creator of a system of transportation and of a whole series of industries which depend on these animals. Dr. Grenfell also writes of the traveled routes to Labrador and the physiography of Labrador. Eleven others contribute the rest of the book. Altogether the book is a joint product of English, Canadian, and American students and writers. It is an authoritative piece of work. It presents knowledge at first hand. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.25.)

Volume V, Parts I and II, of "The History of the Christian Church," as contributed by David S. Schaff, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, continues and brings to its conclusion this monumental work by Dr. Schaff's father in his father's spirit, and, so far as we can judge, with his father's scholarship. This volume, or, to speak more accurately, these volumes, cover the era from 1049 to 1517—that is, from Gregory VII to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. The volumes are frankly Protestant in their spirit, but they are not controversially Protestant. The reader must remember that the author is writing a history of the Church, and that his volumes are therefore chiefly ecclesiastical and theological. Thus in his account of Wyclif there is very little said respecting the socialistic or semi-scholastic teaching of this great reformer. We hardly need to remind our readers that the period of which these volumes treat is of crucial importance, though perhaps less important, and certainly to

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most readers less interesting, than the period of Apostolic Christianity on the one hand, and the period of the Reformation on the other. The elaborate bibliography which accompanies each section adds greatly to the value of the work for the scholar. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.25.)

Mrs. Villiers Wardell's "Spain of the Spanish" is interesting and disappointing. It is interesting because it gives useful information concerning the Spanish Court, Parliament, laws, commerce, literature, art, religion, manners and customs; and, what is more, its information is very much up to date. It is disappointing because it has not been prepared with sufficient care. First, it includes some vaporizings well enough in familiar correspondence, but of rather light weight for a serious volume. Second, it excludes certain description and interpretation, and we had a right to expect that description and interpretation. For instance, after six pages of comment on the novels of Ibañez one might expect more than *four lines* concerning the at least equally important novels of Valdés. The author also exhibits a fine indifference as to the use of Spanish words or their English equivalents. For example, we find an interesting chapter on "Cataluña and the Catalans." Why not entitle the book itself "España"? As to accent, the name of the veteran author Pérez Galdós is innocent of any, as is that of the great realist Palacio Valdés. This would not be so noticeable had the author left off her accents altogether. But no. They are put on here and there, until the irritated reader wishes they might have all been left out or all put in. Despite these lacks, presumably to be corrected in a second edition, the book is useful. It is particularly useful just now when Spain is attracting special attention because of the Riff war, the Ferrér affair, and the successive and rapid changes of ministry from Conservatism to Radicalism. (Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.)

Dr. Doremus Scudder's sermons—for such we judge the chapters of this volume were in their origin—are characterized by a spirit well expressed in the title of the book, "The Passion for Reality." Its content is indicated by the title of some of its chapters, such as "The Reality of Jesus," "How to Make Prayer Real." It is vital with a living, working faith. The selections which serve as an introduction to each chapter and the quotations in the chapters show a wide range of reading and a wise selective ability. (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 50c.)

When we read the caption "The Switzerland of the Swiss," we naturally expect a book describing in clear-cut language a great racial and national individuality. But Mr. Frank Webb's volume bearing this title is disappointing. Nowhere does it rise to the level of the vivid and graphic qualities of description required. It misses fire. Yet it is a storehouse of very valuable information, and its information is doubtless accurate and up to date. It will undoubtedly set us right where we have been wrong about Swiss political economy, government, policies, and tendencies. Particularly will it set most people right concerning the relative importance of the German and French elements in Switzerland, for most folk, we opine, have supposed that those elements, in quantity and quality, fairly balance each other. Mr. Webb corrects that view, together with a number of other misconceptions. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

Most of us are accustomed to compare Bolivar now to Washington and now to Napoleon. Mr. F. Loraine Petre's well-balanced biography, "Simon Bolivar," helps us to readjust that comparison. We realize as never before that Bolivar's military and administrative genius was certainly not as great as were Washington's and Napoleon's, but we also realize that, given the fearful conditions of racial degradation and individual corruption and treachery against which Bolivar had to contend, neither Napoleon nor Washington would have been able to wrest victory from defeat. In throwing off Spain's three-century yoke throughout much of South America, Bolivar's work thus stands out in all its magnificent simplicity. We may recognize that the man himself was susceptible to flattery, as we had not thought. We discover that his ambitions were perhaps greater than we had supposed. We see him disillusioned, as any one would be who had experienced the weakness and bad faith of those who should have been a help. This latest account of Bolivar, however, may not be the last word on the subject. But we are glad to have it, for the reasons above indicated, and also because it seems to do justice to the man's immense personal influence. With all his faults, he stands before us an idealist, a protagonist of immense energy and resourcefulness, the greatest man South America has produced, and one of the great figures of the world's history. (John Lane Company, New York. $4.)

The most striking feature of Professor Baldwin Brown's "Manual of the Fine Arts" seems to be the author's emphasis on the "festival" as a motive in art. Taking illustrations from the Egyptian and Greek temples, he describes the festal origin of graphic and plastic decoration and of architecture. Then, noting the survival of the festival in early Christian times, he describes the Florentine pageant and mystery plays and the artistic outcomes of the brilliant festival life of mediæval Italy. Then he treats the formal conditions of artistic expression. Every work, to be really a work of art, he maintains, must be three things: first, it must be a unity; second, it must be significant; third, it must be beautiful. From these principles Professor Brown discusses architecture, sculpture, and painting in suggestive detail. At times his emphasis seems undue,

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and at other times there does not seem enough of it. But this is probably hypercriticism. No manual of art will seem adequate to every one. This particular manual will doubtless do much in the formation of sound taste, and that ought to be the end of all criticism. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.)

"Christ and Man" is the title of a memorial volume of sermons by the late Dr. Marcus Dods, Principal of New College, Edinburgh, a favorite preacher of the Free Church of Scotland, and highly esteemed also among American Presbyterians. Temperamentally attached to approved forms of doctrine, Dr. Dods cared for things more than words, and, while moderately in accord with "progressive orthodoxy," was studiously insistent on the spiritual realities which underlie both the ancient and the modern phraseology of faith. These characteristics appear in the present volume, which is fairly representative of his preaching as a whole, aiming at the development of Christian manhood in spiritual vision and ethical vigor. (Hodder & Stoughton, New York. $1.50.)

A slender, sumptuously printed volume, pleasantly light to the hand, just the thing for the pocket, contains eight suggestive little essays by "A. E. G.," initials which doubtless stand for Albert E. Gallatin. With much acuteness this critic discusses certain modern artists—Whistler, Besnard, Zorn, Stuck, Tito, Orpen, Parrish, Glackens, and others; he also discusses the opinions of two other critics, the late W. E. Henley and Professor John C. Van Dyke. The most salient feature, however, of these essays is their terseness. With our author brevity is indeed the soul of wit. His staccato touch suggests criticism rather than outlines it. Yet one misses the amplitude of phrase demanded by some problems of art. (J. M. Bowles, New York. $2.)

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL CARE OF OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

[We commonly think of the army and navy as owing a duty to the Nation. Bishop Brent, of the Philippines, basing what he says on his observations in the Orient, writes to The Outlook a letter to point out a duty that the Nation owes to the army and navy. There are certain facts, he notes, that emphasize this duty. First, the army and navy are National bodies, servants of the whole people. Second, they deserve honor because their standards of physique, intelligence, and character are high. Third, they should be fostered because they are not mere destructive forces, but, especially on the frontier, are agents of law and order, of peace, health, and industry. Fourth, they need care, since their work is carried on under conditions extraordinarily perilous to moral life. The absence of the soldier and sailor from home and the shifting of officers' families create some of the conditions under which a hundred and fifty thousand men, besides the women and children of their families, must live. The rest of Bishop Brent's letter we print below.—THE EDITORS.]

What are we doing to meet our responsibility? First let us look at the army. Here we have the steady influence of many officers in the line as well as in the medical corps who by example and precept promote good living among the men, an influence which is invaluable and without which, as a foundation, no amount of zeal in other quarters could count for much. There are also voluntary agencies, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, whose work is a great force for good. But, ideally speaking, the chaplain who is attached to each regiment is the center and hope of moral and religious leadership. It is his only *raison d'être.* Whatever he may do to promote wholesome sport and clean amusement, or to further elementary education, his foremost duty is to guard the morals and inspire the souls of the command committed to his charge.

The chaplain is at once met with difficulties peculiar to his position. He is an officer, and it is a question in the minds of not a few chaplains whether they would not get nearer to the heart of the whole regiment if they were without rank. No officer would respect them less, and many a soldier would be more within reach were they without rank. Certainly there is no office higher than that of a minister of the Gospel, and it is an honor to the army rather than to the ministry that a chaplain should be an officer.

A chaplain's cure is unique. He has every phase of belief and unbelief, every degree of intelligence and unintelligence, in his flock. Though at the Military Academy the cadets, who are composed of young men from the best and most disciplined homes in the land, are under a rule of compulsory attendance once a week at divine service, the undisciplined young soldier of the army is left free to go or not go, as he chooses, in an institution where all else is under precise regulation. So far as common worship is concerned, outside those who are adherents of the Church of which the chaplain happens to be a representative, there are not many who have much natural inducement to live

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an orderly religious life, especially when one takes into consideration the schismatical excuses which some pastors, at any rate, breed in the minds of their people for holding aloof from any services but their own.

At the Military Academy the old, inadequate chapel is giving place to a structure that will rise in massive magnificence to remind the cadets, by a constant object-lesson, that God is their strength. In the army posts with which I am acquainted, and where every regiment finds a home for two years at regular intervals, the chaplain has no facilities, no symbol of religion, no building for sacred uses. At Fort McKinley, with its three thousand men, the courtesy of the Young Men's Christian Association affords the chaplain his only facilities. In other permanent posts, as at Jolo and Zamboanga, where the chaplain's quarters and the post library respectively are made to do service for a chapel, there is the same dearth of facilities for religious work. In such places as Camp Stotsenburg, Camp Jossman, and Camp Keithley, regimental posts wholly isolated, there has been up to now some excuse for the lack of proper accommodations for religious work, for the buildings are more or less temporary in structure. But in each of these posts there should be some evidences that the War Department does care for the religious work of the chaplain and for the religious life of the soldier—evidences which are lacking. If in any or all of these posts permanent buildings are erected, let the War Department give that attention to religious needs which is due. I have nothing but admiration for the Young Men's Christian Association and those generous-handed donors who provide buildings for religious work in army and navy, but in all honesty I must add that it is beneath the dignity and injurious to the self-respect of this great Nation to allow charity to furnish the equipment which should be provided by the Government. Just as the gift of a hospital ship is a valuable adjunct to the medical equipment of the navy, so should a Young Men's Christian Association building be to the religious equipment of the army, and not a substitute for it.

Complaint is sometimes made that the chaplains are not always first-class men. Whatever of truth there may be in the criticism, they are frequently what the army makes them. What sort of a man would a first-class quartermaster be after a few years if he was furnished with no transportation or storehouses, and was obliged to scramble as he best could for his facilities? Would not a first-class doctor soon degenerate into a second-class one if he were provided with no equipment and were without operating-room or medicines? I have watched the fire of enthusiasm of more than one chaplain die down because he was expected by the Nation to make bricks without straw.

In every permanent post there should be a worthy building solemnly dedicated to, and used solely for, religious purposes. If the soldier sees that the Government only tolerates religious oversight in the army, he is not going to be responsive to such religious effort as may be put forth. The soldier has eyes that are keen to observe and a mind quick to reach conclusions. Even in temporary camps at least as much care should be taken to secure suitable quarters for religious work as for the commissary or the medical corps.

When we come to the navy, there is a somewhat different state of affairs. There are men afloat as well as men ashore to be cared for. The number of chaplains was limited to twenty-four in 1842 by act of Congress. Our naval force was then less than eight thousand. Now we have the same number of chaplains for a naval establishment, including the ten thousand men of the Marine Corps, of fifty-five thousand officers and men in upwards of three hundred ships of all classes, nine constructive and repairing centers, and thirteen naval stations, of which seven are outside the boundaries of the North American continent. There are not enough chaplains to give each battleship one, let alone cruisers and stations ashore.

Secretary Bonaparte, in his annual report for 1905, put the matter well. He said: "The good morals, and also the health and general welfare, as well as the contentment of the service, would be, in my judgment, promoted by a considerable increase in the number of chaplains in the navy, provided we could be assured of obtaining only thoroughly suitable men for these important positions.

"I do not think any increase in the present number of permanent chaplains is desirable, but I recommend that a moderate number of temporary chaplains, say ten, be appointed annually to serve some five years, and that all vacancies in the permanent force be filled from selection from those who have been found exceptionally useful and efficient during this period of probation. Usually a chaplain on a ship of war should be a young man, since his most important duty is to make himself the adviser and confidant of as many as possible among the young men composing the crew. He should be interested in their sports, ready to advise them in their difficulties, anxious to compose their quarrels, and able to exercise upon them the great, though indirect, influence arising from interest in their affairs and sympathy with their troubles on the part of a person whose character and conduct command their respect and whose position entitles him to deference. In every case, however, a person selected for this office should have the indorsement of the superior ecclesiastical authority in the denomination to which he may belong. A chaplain selected because he has been a failure in parish work and his friends do not know what else to do with him is much worse than useless in the navy.

"I call this matter to your attention, and that of the Congress more especially, because,

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while the general condition of morals in our navy is fairly satisfactory, certain grave lapses have been from time to time brought to the Department's attention which emphasize the necessity for such service among the men as only zealous and capable spiritual advisers can efficiently render."

The foregoing words were written nearly five years ago. What has been done to better the situation?

I would close this paper as I began it. It is the duty of the Nation to safeguard and foster the moral and spiritual well-being of the self-respecting, American-born young men who are enlisting in army and navy in steadily increasing numbers, and who are exposed to extraordinary temptations and dangers in tours of duty in the demoralizing conditions of Oriental and other foreign service. The Nation has not yet risen to its responsibility.

CHARLES H. BRENT,
Bishop of the Philippines.

ANTI-JAPANESE PREJUDICE

In a letter with the title "Japan and Manchuria," which appeared in The Outlook of January 15 last, I find statements regarding the people of Japan which call for an earnest protest.

The writer says: "Why is it that every American—aye, in fact, every Westerner of whatever nationality—whom I have met who has come out to Japan with the highest regard for her people leaves the country with an entirely different opinion from that with which he entered it? Conceit and cunning smartness are ill disguised behind an ever-smiling countenance."

Now, I contend that the impression conveyed by that paragraph is utterly untrue. There is no such unanimity of suspicion and distrust of the Japanese people as this writer represents. It is true that on steamers and in the hotels of the open ports such sentiments find frequent expression; still, even in the mercantile community there is strong and emphatic dissent, and that from men of the very highest standing.

The head of one of the largest importing houses in Yokohama, for a number of years the President of the Foreign Board of Trade, has utterly repudiated the notion that the Japanese are untrustworthy. Another merchant, who has been continuously in business for over forty years, takes the same view. He declares, for example, that the oft-repeated charge that the Japanese do not respect trade-marks and patent rights is due to the fact that those who complain have failed to register their patents and trade-marks, apparently under the impression that the Japanese, intelligent as they are, should have arranged their laws so that they would operate automatically and protect alike those who comply and those who neglect to comply with the conditions embodied in the laws.

Some maintain that it is in vain to apply to the courts, for they will not give decisions in favor of a foreigner as against a Japanese litigant. The statistics go to show, however, that more than two-thirds of the cases in which Japanese and foreigners have been opposed to one another have been decided in favor of the foreigner.

A prominent diplomatic official within a few days told me of listening one day to a tirade against the commercial habits of the Japanese. At the close he turned to a gentleman, an American, I think, who has a large business with Japan, with offices both in New York and Yokohama, and asked his opinion. The reply was at once given that as regards commercial probity the Japanese would average up very well with the rest of the world. The merchant then went on to say that he thought the current talk of the Japanese dishonesty was largely due to the fact that in early days the Japanese merchants of the open ports were without experience in large business, and ventured on enterprises out of proportion to their capital, and when the market turned against them they simply fell down, as the saying is. In his judgment, it was not so much a question of honesty as of a lack of business prudence, due to inexperience. Of course the practical result was the same, so far as the foreign trader was concerned, and it was natural that loud complaint should be made; but I think that among the broader-minded of the foreign merchants it is generally conceded that this serious evil is passing away.

In Tokyo, which has on the whole a more normal foreign community—at least it is far less exclusively commercial—the consensus of opinion is markedly favorable to the Japanese.

It has been my privilege to have acquaintance, more or less intimate, with every American representative at the Japanese Court since 1869, and I cannot think of one who has not been extremely friendly to Japan. One of the most distinguished diplomatists Europe has sent to Japan once told me that among all the different Governments with which he had had official relations the Japanese was distinctly the easiest with which to transact business.

It is not my contention that the Japanese nation includes no dishonest or disreputable people—the extensive prison system testifies against that; but I do claim that the number is not abnormal, and in no wise justifies the wholesale generalization so common and, as I think, so discreditable to its authors.

As to Manchuria and Korea, it is clear to me, and I think also to most who have given serious attention to the history of Japan's relation to these two countries, that her primary thought was national defense. Her statesmen have sincerely believed that the safety of the Empire must depend on their ability to check the advance of Russia. The utterances of apparently responsible Russians to the effect that their ultimate aim included the control of Japan have been frequent enough to create genuine anxiety. Had

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Korea and Manchuria been well-governed countries, some scheme of neutralization might have been devised, such as has preserved the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium; but as the case stood there was, the statesmen of Japan have believed, nothing left but the course which they have pursued.

While they claim for Japan pre-eminent rights in South Manchuria, there is no decisive evidence that they intend to assert those rights to the prejudice of the commercial interests of other nations. A gentleman who has been for several years in Manchuria, with abundant opportunity for forming an opinion, has informed me that while no doubt specific instances of favoritism might be pointed out, they are of such a nature as to yield to individual treatment, and do not warrant the wholesale charges often made against the Japanese authorities. Furthermore, he claims that such favoritism is not the decisive factor in weakening foreign competition. That factor he finds in the unnecessarily expensive methods of business adopted by the foreign trader as against the cheaper methods of the Japanese.

For example, speaking specifically of the trade in cotton cloth and yarn, he points out that the Japanese manufacturers place their goods in the hands of a single firm which has its staff of Chinese-speaking Japanese agents. Thus they avoid the expense attendant upon a multiplicity of competing agencies, and also avoid the danger of misunderstandings as well as expense arising from reliance upon interpreters.

It is readily conceded that Japan's policy in Manchuria has sometimes, perhaps on the whole, been short-sighted. Her true interest would have been better served by a constant effort to conciliate China and to make plain her desire to unite with her in presenting a strong front against the aggression of Russia.

It is not strange, however, after all that has passed and the large sacrifice of blood and treasure which Japan has made, that she is unwilling to yield the pre-eminent position which her treaties with Russia and China accord her, and there is no satisfactory evidence that she has in her doings gone beyond a reasonable interpretation of those treaties.

Criticism of Japan's policy in Manchuria or elsewhere is entirely legitimate, and if offered in a judicial spirit would, I fancy, receive a ready welcome. It certainly should do good; but wholesale denunciations of peoples or races should be deprecated by all who really desire peace and harmony among men.

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE.

Tokyo, Japan.

"GOD BLESS OUR NATIVE LAND"

In Dr. L. F. Benson's "Studies of Familiar Hymns," 1903, there is an interesting paper on "God Bless Our Native Land," which gives practically all the information worth recording except on one point. That is, it says nothing about the German original. It seemed, therefore, worth while making a search, and after examining several collections of German *Volkslieder* the original revealed itself in G. W. Fink's "Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen," 1842, thus:

"416. Königs- und Vaterlandslied für Sachsen.

(Nach Voriger Weise.

Gott segne Sachsenland,
Wo fest die Treue stand
In Sturm und Nacht!
Ew'ge Gerechtigkeit,
Hoch über'm Meer der Zeit,
Die jedem Sturm' gebeut,
Schütz' uns mit Macht!

Blühe, du Rautenkranz,
In schöner Tage Glanz
Freudig empor!
Heil, Friedrich August, dir!
Heil, guter König, dir!
Dich, Vater, preisen wir
Liebend im Chor!

Was treue Herzen flehn,
Steigt zu des Himmels Höh'n
Aus Nacht zum Licht!
Der unsre Liebe sah,
Der unsre Thränen sah,
Er ist uns huldreich nah,
Verlässt uns nicht!

Gott segne Sachsenland,
Wo fest die Treue stand
In Sturm und Nacht!
Ew'ge Gerechtigkeit,
Hoch über'm Meer der Zeit,
Die jedem Sturm' gebeut,
Schütz' uns mit Macht!

—SIEGFRIED AUGUST MAHLMANN."

The "foregoing melody" is that of "God Save the King," which is also set to No. 414, "Heil dir, dem Liebenden," *i.e.*, the Danish National Hymn, and to No. 415, "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," *i.e.*, the Prussian National Hymn.

Hoffmann von Fallersleben in his "Unsre Volksthümlichen Lieder," 1869, gives this note: "386. Gott segne Sachsenland! 1815. Author, August Mahlmann. First printed in the 'Zeitung für die elegante Welt,' 1815, No. 228, col. 1824; and first sung on 13 November, 1815, in the presence of the King of Saxony, in Leipzig."

Mahlmann was born at Leipzig May 13, 1771, and died there December 16, 1826. He edited the "Zeitung für die elegante Welt" from 1805 to 1816. He is best known as a song writer. See Karl Goedeke's "Grundrisz zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung," Vol. V, 1893, p. 550.

On comparing the German with the translation by Mr. Brooks (Dr. Benson's "Studies," p. 183), it will be seen that the English is a version of the first and third stanzas, rather free, but quite as close as any of the versions made for school use at that time.

JAMES MEARNS,
Assistant Editor of the "Dictionary of Hymnology."

Rushden Vicarage,
Buntingford, England.

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"A little neglect may breed great mischief; for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; for want of a horse the rider was lost, slain by an enemy, all for want of care about a horse-shoe nail."

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

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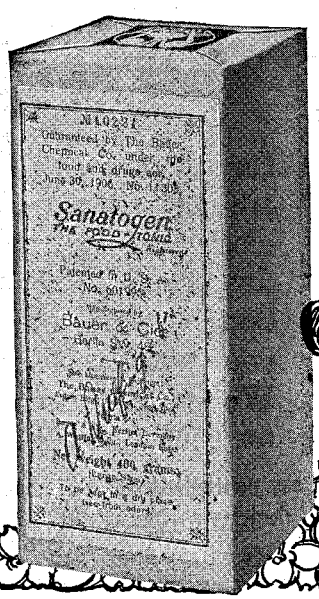

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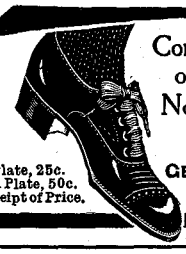

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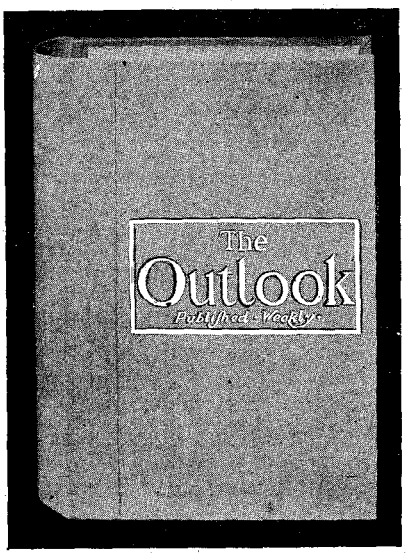

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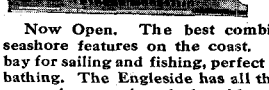

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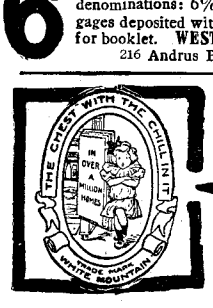

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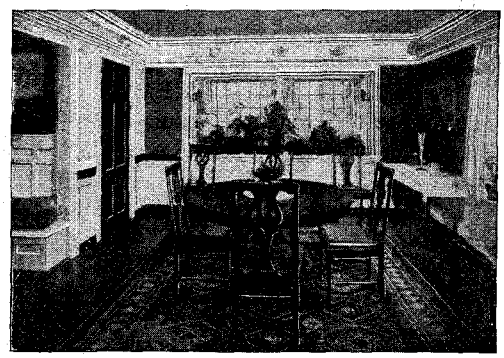

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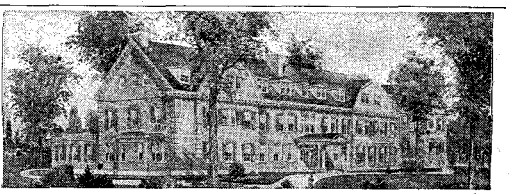

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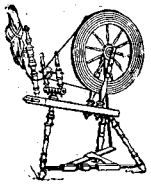

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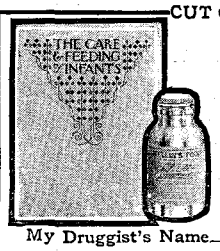

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